00095302

God
944.081
Kar/Fig
95302

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 28 September, 2015

00095302

Books in this volume

I "Insight for freedom. By V. G. Karaka

II The Crisis of Indian civilisation in the 18th & early 19th Centuries. By H. Goetz

III Presidential address at the 27th Indian Science Congress, Madras, 1940 by R. B. K. N. Dikshit.

IV Kinship terminology and Kinship usages in Rigveda & Atharvaveda. By Irawati Karve 1940

V Kinship terminology & Kinship usages of the Maratha Country. By Irawati Karve 1940

VI Speeches delivered at the dinner given by the Management of the Scindia S. Navigation Co. Ltd. in honour of the Company's Patrons, the Shippers on Monday January 29, 1940.

VII Speeches delivered at the dinner given by P & O Agents at the Willingdon Sports Club on 11 January 1940 in honour of Mr Wakefield's Retirement.

VIII —do— Gujarati translation -

Presented to

(1) The Royal Asiatic Library (Bombay Branch)

in memory of

their revered mother

"Kamalabai G. Jahi"

by her two sons

(1) Prabhakar G. Jahi

and (2) Vasant G. Jahi

Printed & published by C. Murphy
for Thacker & Company Limited, Bombay.

The entire proceeds of as many copies as may be sold of this edition of 1000 *copies will be given to one or other of the War Funds.*

PRICE As. 8.

2846/1
1941

THIS FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

F. J. KARAKA

95302
ac

Phil

Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay.

21/11/42-17

First Published November 1940.

Gop
944.081
Kar/Fig
95302

Copyright reserved

To

those who have dedicated their lives
to the cause of freedom.

THIS FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

Amidst the shattering blast and wreck of war,
Our hope and faith sustain the darkest hours,
Which Hitler's burning rage and malice bring,
In this grave crisis of the world's affairs.
Let not, O God, this evil stalk the earth,
Let not Thy hand go out against Thy fold,
Let not his brood of demons further spread
The all-consuming flames and fires of hell.
My blood oft boils when I recall what ills
Befell but late the race of Abraham,
Upon whose brow was stamped the brand of guilt,
Not based on any just and proven counts,
But judged on flimsy threads of feeble pleas.
Of place and wealth and pow'r and fame despoiled,
And turned adrift and flung upon a world,
In which it seemed they hardly knew a friend,
These weary hordes of restless spirits roamed,
Until, in some far corner of the earth,
They made a make-shift home to settle in.

And since the war began its cruel course,
What nations, small and great, have been bereft
Of all they prized and held most dear in life!
State after state has lost its sovereign rule;
A Reign of Terror takes its daily toll
To feed the Nazi lust for land and gold,
And firing squads and drear detention camps
Replace the normal working of the law.
When thousands lose their lives, there is no count
Of all the anguish and the ache of heart,
That tear the very fibres of each soul.
Consider but a frequent type of loss,
The father that had proudly reared his race
And fondly hoped, in his declining years,
The son would face the burden of the day;
Ah, what to him of joy survives in life,
And what to her to whom he ever was
The dearest object of her constant care,
When first to them the bitter news was flashed

That battling for his King or country's cause,
The daring boy had laid himself to rest ?
And thus a tragic trail of woe remains,
Of which the depth no man shall ever sound.
In countries which the Huns have overrun,
E'en he who was devoid of worldly goods,
But of his hearth and home and soul was lord,
Could yet, not long ago, regard himself
With pride and self-respect, and breathe the air
Of freedom, won by years of noble toil,
And bravely stride along the way of life,
Expressing what he thought was right or wrong.
Such is not now his common lot to live,
He dare not call his very soul his own ;
The joy that thrilled within his heart is dead,
The song that breathed his hopes and fears is dumb,
The ties that bind the people of a state
And give it life and purpose hold no more;
The joy, the song, the sacred bonds have gone
And faded like a dream of yesterday.

The soil of France, where first the seed was sown
Of equal and fraternal liberty ;
A soil, whereon was reared the finer growth
Of philosophic thought and high ideals,
That in their train gave her free thought, free speech,
And that which was a boon beyond compare,
The right to do what each man deemed was good,
Save what undid the purpose of the State
Or equal rights of any fellow man ;
This soil, alas, is now the hunting-ground
Of ruthless, godless bands of Hitler's men.

Against the mobile might of German arms,
What chance was there for smaller realms to stand ?
But what did make the High Command of France,
Supported by a force five-million strong,
Abandon thus the country and the cause ?
It was a breach of faith and fall from grace,
A fraud upon the fortunes of the land,
And deep-dyed treason of the blackest shade,
That sapped the base and fabric of the State.

But something rich and great it is to watch
How in the face of grave and vital peril,
The British summon up their full resource
And set themselves to fight the common foe.
When all but lost in Norway and in France,
And trapped and sorely pressed in Belgian fields,
They made a master move from shore to ships
By dogged pluck and deeds of derring-do.
However high their courage in retreat,
Of little use would be such marvels now;
The time has come for action swift and bold,
For, sure, this nation means to win the war.

And so on Britain rests the role to face
The maddened frenzy of the Nazi rage;
This sea-girt isle, of which great Shakespeare sung
In words that nerve and steel the people's soul,
But calmly fronts and breaks the growing storm,
And braves wave after wave of rapid raids
Upon her ships and shores and lands and seas,

Inflicting dreadful loss, in craft and men,
Upon the ones that dare to cross her way.
Not only great in bold defence of home,
But, undeterred by heavy blows sustained,
Into the very heart of hostile lands,
Her matchless pilots drop their deadly bombs,
And cause such vast destruction all around,
As makes the Nazi monster pause and think.

It is with wonder that the world beholds
How well the lynx-eyed British fleet maintains
Its watch and ward, and keeps the trade routes free
For merchant ships to sail the seven seas,
When major units of the Axis fleets,
Pent up and sealed in harbours, lie inert.
The chances are that, when the time is ripe,
A blow will fall from this Titanic force,
With such effect on Hitler's black designs,
That he and all his men will rue the day
They planned to bring about Great Britain's fall.

The long-expected hour, which was to launch
A mass assault by all the German arms,
Concentred on the island home of Britons,
And, by the lightning speed of such a force,
Compel submission to the Nazi terms.
The womb of time has not delivered yet.
If e'er a Blitzkrieg were to come to pass,
Prepared and fully armed is Britain now
To beat it back to places whence it came.
A long way yet it is to see the last
Of that terrific loss which war entails,
And for the joyous bells of peace to ring;
For swift and sure and wily is the foe,
And rich with added spoils from captured lands,
Makes still a bigger bid for greater gains.
Though foiled in wild assaults on British soil
And hit and hammered hard on vital points,
On land his striking force is unimpaired,
And other fronts and fields engage his mind.
Il Duce's latest move to master Greece,

The Nazi plan to wrest from fallen France
Her fleet, her planes and ports, her all-in-all,
And march through Spain to wreck the giant Rock,
May new diversions make on sea and land;
And soon will Egypt brave a clash of arms,
Such as will shake it to its very depth.

For long the Japs have aped the Nazi ways
And made the best of what the times allowed,
And even tweaked the British lion's tail;
But now the tide must turn the other way
And wreck their greater schemes and dreams,
For Roosevelt will not stand their mischief long.
Time was we looked upon these puny Japs
As herald of an Eastern race of men
Who would, as years advanced, transform the East.
But in this light can we regard them still?
Though Stalin's ways are strange and hard to scan,
And none can tell what next his plans will be,

He may not fail to move and strike across
And bar the Axis path towards the East.
In this grim gallant fight for freedom's sake,
Should Britain bear the strain and stress alone ?
Her righteous cause is gaining other hearts
And soon will make its mark upon the world.
Between the rule of might and that of right,
Her empire, like a lofty mountain, stands,
And sends sustaining streams of growing strength,
Not only to defend its lands and homes,
But to redress the fates of conquered realms
That Hitler has enslaved and made his own,
And keep alive those hard-won rights and boons
Which make the sacred heritage of man.
O Roosevelt, you have worked the magic change
Come o'er the spirit of your nation's thought ;
By slow degrees you move to right the wrong,
But once you move, there is no holding back
From that which you have set up as your goal.
When Europe's sky was thick with blackest clouds,

With only Britain left to face the storm,
'T was you that saw the need of prompt relief
And gave such moral and material aid
As, in the nick of time, has saved from death
The greatest guardian of democracy.
It did not take the Indians long to read
The plan and purpose of the Nazi mind ;
In no uncertain terms have they denounced
The rape and loot of Europe's fairest realms ;
Though great the part they've played to help the cause
Which those who love their freedom have at heart,
Much more out of their bounty should they give,
In men, materials and the means of war,
Despite the wrongs that rankle in their breast ;
For, would the land of India lag behind,
In this colossal fight to hold aloft
The torch that lights and points the better way
To that fair order of a newer world,
In which their fullest height would nations reach,
Should they but wisely shape their country's course ?

The flood-tide of the final victory
Will waft upon a vast and heaving wave
To India too her share of freedom's boons;
Would Britain then deny this ancient land
What she did work to win for other realms?
Britain, a Statesman thou hast brought to pow'r,
Whose drive dynamic has transformed the scene;
There is a strength behind his clarion call,
A vision that transcends the present needs,
A daring that outwits the plans of foes.
But if this wondrous man could higher rise
And justly deal with India's larger hopes,
The world-wide fame of Churchill's war-time years
Would, on the walls of time, much longer last.

"Firdaus,"
Colaba,
Bombay,
14*th November* 1940.

II

With the author's compliments

Calcutta University Readership Lectures

THE CRISIS OF INDIAN CIVILISATION IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURIES

THE GENESIS OF INDO-MUSLIM CIVILISATION

BY

H. GOETZ, PH.D.

LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA · ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING ·

pht2

M M . T . 17

PUBLISHED BY THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

1938

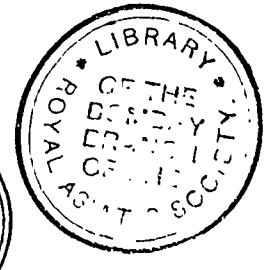
Calcutta University Readership Lectures

THE CRISIS OF INDIAN CIVILISATION IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURIES

THE GENESIS OF INDO-MUSLIM CIVILISATION

BY

H. GOETZ, PH.D.



PUBLISHED BY THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

1938

Gon
954.03
Goe/(01)

PRINTED IN INDIA.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY BHUPENDRALAL BANERJEE
AT THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS, SENATE HOUSE, CALCUTTA

Reg. No. 1054B—Jan. 1938.—E.

CONTENTS

LECTURE I

PAGE

The Crisis of Indian Civilisation in the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries ... 1

LECTURE II

The Genesis of Indo-Muslim Civilisation 25

ejn
954.03

THF CRISIS OF INDIAN CIVILISATION IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURIES

Bengal, and especially Calcutta, have played a prominent part in the making of Modern India. It was Bengal where the British Empire in India was founded by Clive and Hastings; it was Bengal where the national revival set in, connected with such illustrious names as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Devendranath Tagore, Keshub Chunder Sen, etc., up to Rabindranath Tagore and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. But this movement by which an old civilisation broke down and another expression of the Indian mind was born, was not restricted to Bengal; it was a pan-Indian phenomenon. For the first forebodings of this crisis became apparent in the time of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, and the critical phase was reached at very different dates in the various parts of India, in Delhi, Rajputana, the Maratha States, Bengal, Lucknow, Hyderabad, Mysore, the Punjab; and in the same way the revival set in at different times in the various provinces of India, in Bengal, Lucknow, Gujarat, Delhi, Madras, etc. As this cultural crisis is not only closely connected with the coming of British rule in India, but as it is also at the bottom of a great many of her present-day problems, it must be deplored that this last period of Indian independence has not awakened the interest which it deserves. You know that most historians, and among these the greatest authorities, have pronounced their severe verdict on it. The best a historian might do, it seems, was to pass over in silence an age of such decadence and depravity.

For many years I, too, accepted this verdict, which was no doubt, based, on a mass of undeniable, gloomy

documentation. A prolonged study of the question, however, has brought home to me the conviction that we must revise this judgment. Allow me, therefore, to unfold the many bewildering aspects of this phenomenon. For I am convinced that an unbiased research will reveal to us a better explanation in agreement with the general laws of historical evolution, and a better appreciation which will neither arouse the pride nor the resentment of any side. Thus, I hope, it will remove a number of harmful ideas about history and contribute to a better understanding between Indians and Europeans.

As the symptoms of decadence in the late Mughal, Rajput and Maratha civilisations had to serve the Victorian historians as an explanation of the startling facts that India was not conquered by English soldiers, but by Indian troops under British generals, and that she had not to be governed by a purely English administration but the existing administration had only to be reformed according to European ideas, they had to emphasize the unpleasant aspects of Indian life in those times. But by doing so they overlooked all the brilliant accomplishments of the same period in other fields of culture, such as architecture, painting, poetry, music and dance, throwing thus the blame of depravity and cultural inferiority on a whole nation. I do not question their sincerity as historians who, according to their lights, tried their best to give an accurate picture of the critical situation.

But since the Victorian Age has passed away, we have come to doubt the authority of many of its ideals and opinions which were the products of a very special situation. To be sure, these ideals have saved English civilisation from the social chaos caused by an industrialisation never experienced before in such a measure. But what would survive of all the splendour of by-gone ages if we should really try to measure them also in the scale of Victorian ideals moral, social and political? Which of the prominent personalities or institutions of classic Greece or Rome, of the Renaissance, the Age of Louis XIV or of the Roccoco could really stand the consequent criticism of Victorian ideals?

We cannot expect that those historians who compiled the first fundamental accounts of 18th century India, could suspect the possibility of other forms of life whose existence and value have been justified by the history of humanity. Not sufficiently acquainted with and unable to understand all the undiscovered beauties and refinements of that late aristocratic culture that was 18th and early 19th century India, and unhampered by any correcting tradition, they could find no flaw in an explanation based on the then current belief that unchecked aristocratic and monarchic rule was the source of all political and social evils. Though since we have modified our opinion in many details, the main trend of our criticism is still shaped by that verdict of a by-gone age. A satisfying and just explanation and appreciation of the crisis of Indian civilisation in that critical period can, however, be only arrived at if we are prepared to do justice to both sides of this culture, its brilliant as well as its gloomy aspect; if we are prepared to study it not in the light of the too simple historical theories of the 19th century, but by comparing it with other crises in the history of humanity. Only then we shall be able to understand its peculiar position in the history of India as well as of humanity, only then we shall be able to judge its merits and shortcomings.

Before entering into the details of the problem of the crisis of Indian civilisation in the declining Mughal-Rajput-Maratha period, we must, therefore, take a more comprehensive view of the question. What are the aspects of a decaying civilisation? General opinion tends to consider it mostly as a slow way down to barbarism and stiff conventionalism without any creative power in all the fields of human life. Though such cases are known to us, we may, however, safely state, that they are the exceptions. In most cases the standard of cultural life is continuously in the ascendant, but it imposes more and more a fatal strain on the human and economic resources of a country. Its material exigencies grow more and more heavy, so that they become accessible to an increasingly diminishing part of the population and impoverish a rapidly swelling majority. Its human

exigencies, on the other hand, become such a heavy burden to the individual persons that they can remain up to the standard only in one or in a few fields of culture and in many cases lose the contact with or even the consciousness of the totality of contemporary cultural life. When the mass of those excluded from the gifts of this civilisation grows indifferent or hostile to the classes impersonating this culture, when the too specialised professions and classes prove helpless before the first shock to the accustomed social and economic order, a collapse becomes inevitable. After a period of awful convulsions and distress, at some time a new sound equilibrium will finally be arrived at by a regrouping of the basic constituents of the social and economic life; and a new creative impulse will build up another political, material and cultural environment by an adaptation of the survivals of the preceding culture to the changed exterior and mental situation. Such cultural reorganisations may be the work of revolutionary groups, but they may be also the work of foreign conquerors or of the healthy and efficient remnants of the former leading class.

If we try to discover the causes of such crises, very different explanations will be possible. Of course the more superficial reasons are not always the same, as the ways of recovery may be very different and subject to changing conditions. But the principal fact from which spring all the other destructive tendencies, seems to me a moral problem. The more the economic and social orders stabilise, the more the style of cultural life gets a definite shape, the more also the possibilities of free creative activity are made difficult and limited, and with these the necessity and the joy of a healthy exertion of the creative will are restricted. Without a sufficient object, the sense of responsibility and duty is weakened or even destroyed, and the energies of man directed on the enjoyment of life, on wealth, power, pleasure. Thus the struggle of everyone against everybody is introduced into public life, and with it the venom of destruction until the general distress will have revealed again the force of moral laws.

Thus, the social and moral zenith of a civilisation does not coincide with the flourishing of its material and aesthetic accomplishments; the highest refinement of the latter is attained rather when the first are already in a rapid decay. This does not mean the end of cultural life, for as long as there will not be a wholesale break in the cultural tradition and appreciation, every revolution will bring but a regeneration of public and cultural life.

Let me illustrate these somewhat abstract observations by some examples. Take, for instance, the Italian Renaissance! Because of the great artistic, literary and scientific heritage bequeathed to us by that brilliant period we take it for granted that it was one of the hey-days of human civilisation. But look at it from another side! Its moral life was stained by unscrupulous egoism, homicide, perfidy and extreme licentiousness; its public aspect a hopeless chaos of conspiracies, social revolutions, civil wars and unsteady political combinations; its economy was based on the exhaustion of the peasants and of the lower urban classes, and on a trade the bases of which were already crumbling down when Renaissance Italy was nearing its greatest fame. It is the retrogression of a more and more refined civilisation from well-to-do citizens to an aristocracy of absentee landlords, bankers and small potentates which ended in the vassalage of some few courts to the Hapsburgian Emperors and Kings with their German and Spanish soldiers.

Or take France where the years of the foundation of the modern state by Richelieu were followed by the Age of Louis XIV and the Roccoco. In the same measure as her architecture, plastic and pictorial arts became the models for all Europe, as the luxuries of home and dress, the elegance of her ladies, her society life became extravagant, as her music, her dance, her opera flourished, in the same measure her peasants and bourgeois were crushed by taxes, her public finances disorganized, her morals rendered licentious and unscrupulous, until the collapse came with the Revolution and the massacre of her aristocracy on the guillotine.

Let me mention some more examples with a few words, —the Spain of Velasquez and Murillo on the eve of her dependency on Bourbonic France, Germany in the days of Luther, Dürer and Holbein a short time before its dismemberment by a series of religious wars, Venice of the 18th century, Greece in her late classical days, and many others. If the Roman Empire survived almost a millennium since the foundation of Rome, it was by a series of internal revolutions and restorations which regenerated its leading classes, under Sulla, Augustus, Vespasianus, Trajanus, etc. And the same might be said of many other Empires in Europe, in the South or in the East of Asia.

I hope this digression will help to grasp the essential point-of-view for a new and more just appreciation of the civilisation of 18th century India. For those symptoms of decadence which have been made a reproach to 18th century India, are clearly discernible in all those times which we consider as glorious periods in the history of other peoples. They have been, so to say, the inevitable shadow of the splendour, they have, no doubt, brought about the final collapse, but we generally overlook them, because those dark sides have passed away whereas their splendour is still the living heritage of our culture. But a similar splendid side was inherent also to Indian civilisation of the 18th and early 19th centuries. Can we overlook the fairy-like palaces and gardens of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Dig, Udaipur, Lahore, Lucknow, Murshidabad, Poona, etc.? Can we deny the sweetness and the refined taste of the innumerable paintings of those times? Can we forget the Golden Age of Urdu, Bengali and Marathi literature? Can we doubt the high accomplishment of the music and dancing of those times? Or the refinement of social life and the important position of women in that society? Must we not come to the conclusion that the 18th and early 19th centuries have been a period not only of political and economic decline, but also of the highest refinement of Indian culture? Are we not entitled to consider them as one of those fragile ages of over-ripe cultural refinement which have ended

in a sudden collapse, like the late Renaissance in Italy, the Golden Age of Spain, the French Roccoco, and many others? And was the coming of British rule in India perhaps as little extraordinary as the rise of the Spanish power in 16th century Italy partly effected with the aid of Italian troops, ships and priests, the French ascendency in Spain with the aid of a Spanish reform party, the destruction of Greek liberty by the Macedonian kings with the concurrence of Greek politicians and mercenaries? And I must emphasize that in all those cases most of the persons supporting a foreign suzerainty have been idealists who preferred a sound and healthy foreign government to a tyranny national, indeed but corrupted beyond hope and the same might be said of many Indians of the last century. But as the gloomy end of all these ages has not been able to destroy the memory of their golden times, of their great cultural achievements, so will the breakdown of Indian liberty and Indian civilisation in the early 19th century not be able in the long run to obliterate the splendour which preceded its sunset.

This new appreciation of a period which hitherto has almost universally found only depreciation and condemnation, is somewhat revolutionizing. And, therefore, I feel obliged to expound my view somewhat more in detail. Akbar established the Mughal power by transforming the ephemeral Turkish feudal state in India which had been founded by Babur and Humayun, into a super-national empire in which Muhammadans as well as Hindus had the same rights. That he had been able to overbridge the gulf between peoples, creeds and cultures so contrasting with one another was due to the faith of this mystic and of his subjects in a new age to come, in a new civilisation to be built up. When Shahjahan sat on the Imperial Throne, Mughal civilisation was at its height and reached its point of saturation. Aurangzeb's thoughts were directed on a reformation, *i.e.*, the restitution of a better situation already passed. You see, the creative ideal of a common task had been lost, and public life was more and more led by tradition and individual egoism. No doubt, the

great puritan was himself an idealist; but unable to inspire a new idealism, he had to strive for his old ideal by the expedients of a diplomacy based on human egoism. These egoistic instincts had gone hand in hand with the increasing luxury and pomp of the Mughal court. For luxury means refinement of life, the enjoyment of power, wealth, pleasure, instead of productive public activity. Though it is the flower of our cultured life, it is destined to destroy its own bases when it is not counterbalanced by a strong sense of public responsibility and creative vision. Thus, when in the time of Shahjahan, Mughal civilisation became saturated, this happy equilibrium was disturbed. The expenses for the pomp of the court soon went up fourfold, the salaries of the nobles had to be doubled because of the expensive display connected with their rank. When during Aurangzeb's long reign the Hindus became estranged, when the unwieldy Mughal army could no more secure the peace so necessary for the economic strength of the state, bankruptcy became inevitable. The fatal process of eating up the wealth of the country was inaugurated and did not come to an end until India's independence was lost.

With the death of the great puritan all the bad instincts of egoism were let loose. A series of succession wars made the dynasty dependent on the good-will of the nobles, and the emperors,—old men or inexperienced youths grown up in custody—became the puppets of striving factions. Thus the unscrupulous competition for power began. Bahadur Shah I's position was already so much weakened that in 1708 he had to satisfy the ambition of his court by conferring titles and grants on persons who had not the least claim to them. The next war of succession made Jahandar Shah the puppet of one of the three competing parties, the Turanis, Persians and Indians. Under him begins also the intrusion of vile favourites without the least knowledge of military and administrative affairs. Farrukhsiyar became the captive of the men who had installed him on the throne, *i.e.*, the Barha Sayyids. With their supremacy the old administration was broken up by the introduction of favouritism into the whole

bureaucratic hierarchy and by the throwing of the administration of revenue open to speculators. The dictatorship of the Barha brothers as well as the struggle of Muhammad Shah to free himself from this tutelage entailed the disintegration of the empire into a federation of *de facto* independent states.

But as one of the most important resources of power is wealth, the unscrupulous struggle for wealth became inevitable. The squandering of the revenues of the empire and of the treasures hoarded by many mighty rulers began first under Bahadur Shah. Jahandar's defeat was partly due to the dissipation of the Delhi treasures among the relatives of his shameless favourite Lal Kunwar. The Barha Sayyids not only appropriated all that they liked, their Diwan Ratan Chand also gave away the greatest part of the revenues to intermediary tax-farmers. Frauds and embezzlements by the highest officials had become a quite ordinary fact. Under Muhammad Shah this misappropriation of public funds became the rule. The provincial revenues were no more used either for the administrative wants of the provinces, or for the imperial court. The court had to rely on certain reserved crown-estates, and the income from the rest went mostly into the pockets of the chief ministers and favourites, like Ghazi-ud-din, Qamar-ud-din Khan and Sawai Jai Singh II, or Koki Jiu, Amir Khan and Shah 'Abd-ul-Ghaffur; until Javed Khan, the favourite of the low-born empress-mother Udham Bai, and the wazir Safdar Jang plundered even the last remnants in the most shameless way and left Ahmad destitute, without an army or an administration. And along with this general robbery the slow but continuous exhaustion of the provinces and at least of the capital went on. They were also crushed by the additional burden of the devastations by foreign invaders, Persians, Afghans, Marathas, Jats, etc., by the cost of the defensive imperial armies no more paid out of the regular taxes, and by the chaos of civil war between the officials played out against each other by the imperial diplomacy.

And finally there was the desire for pleasure which led to the neglect of the administration, to the squandering of the revenues on favourites and courtesans, and to the avoidance of any decisive action because of the inconveniences connected with it. Jahandar did not care at all for the administration so that he might spend his time with Lal Kunwar, Rafi-ud-darajat was addicted to opium, Muhammad Shah avoided everything that could disturb his quiet life, Ahmad Shah spent most of his time in his zenana. The most influential nobles were equally neglectful of their duties. Abdullah Khan Barha went to his office about every fifth month in order to sign documents which he had never examined. And Safdar Jang Ghazi-ud-din spent their time in garden parties when the future of the empire was at stake. In the same way as the misappropriation of the public finances was due to irresponsible greed for wealth, their squandering was due to the utter neglect of those already in power. The farming out of the revenues, already practised in the outlying *pakka* territories, was introduced into the provinces in the neighbourhood of the capital because of the minimum of administrative work necessary. And there is no more grotesque instance of the general inability to sustain fatigues than the expedition against the Rohelas in 1745.

No wonder that the provinces of the Empire and later on even those in the neighbourhood of the capital made themselves independent of a weak and inefficient court without the least sense of its duties and responsibilities. Since the death of Bahadur Shah some of the mightiest nobles such as Zu'l-fiqar Khan, Husain 'Ali Khan and Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah had dreamt of the possibility of founding states for themselves. The Barha dictatorship had aggravated these tendencies, and under Muhammad Shah they became a necessity because the provincial governors, in a desperate fight against foreign invaders and internal difficulties, could not spend any money to strengthen a central administration which not only wasted these tributes but which, at the same time, did its best to undermine their position. Thus one province after another

stopped payment—last of all Bengal in 1743—and the emperor was acknowledged only as the highest source of legal authority. But in the provinces, too, you can soon see the same unpleasant spectacle. With the third or fourth ruler the same process of decomposition and decadence becomes apparent in the local dynasties. Among the Marathas the state of the public finances was precarious even before the battle of Panipat, and the same might be said of the relations between the great Watandars, especially the Peshwa, the Sindhia and the Bhonsla (1739). Though after the machinations of Raghoba, the dictatorship of the " Barbhai Council " and of Nana Farnavis had given a last respite to the Maratha Federation, yet it foreboded the coming disintegration under the last Madho Rao. In Oudh the first symptoms of decadence are obvious during the seemingly splendid rule of Shuja-ud-daula ; her later history is the same tale of a country plundered and desolated by vile court favourites, rebellious landlords and robber gangs because her weak kings preferred poetry, music and female beauty to the task of supervising their administration, quite as much as in the Delhi of Muhammad and Ahmad Shah. In Bengal disintegration begins with the first rebellion of Mir Jafar against Alivardi Khan in 1746, and under the latter's inconsiderate successor Siraj-ud-daula the independence of Bengal established by Murshid Quli Khan soon became only a shadow. In Rajputana it is the late years of the famous Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur which inaugurate the period of decay with the fratricidal wars between the two allied factious which were to devastate this arid and poor country.

There was no way out. Public life had become a system of plundering, because an administration built up on individual egoism and unscrupulousness, and laden with the burden of paying the extravagances of an over-refined court, could never be maintained by the actual surplus of the national income. And because the general unbridled egoism had entailed a general warfare, in most caess even a well-meaning and energetic ruler like Alivardi Khan in Bengal, or Zakariya Khan in the Punjab, could not ensure the peace and welfare of

his territories, as the wealth so accruing was certain to attract the greed of his poorer neighbours; and if his country was not devastated, he had to plunder it himself to defend it against slaughter and pillage.

Thus the flourishing states and towns had *de facto* to live upon the wealth and the lifeblood of their neighbours or of their outlying provinces, and when these were sucked dry they had to resort to the plundering of the nearer provinces and finally their own citizens. And in the same measure they were compelled to neglect their own organization, and, thus weakened, lost the hold on their resources and finally, their own independence. For the first sign of weakness was the end of their sovereignty, because an administration of this type and continual warfare inspired measures of self-defence in the provincial districts and towns among Zamindars and peasants; mudforts were built, jungles grown around them, gangs of robbers organised. And new states were built up, like those of the Jats, the Sikhs, the Rohelas, the Bundelas, etc. Revenue collection became soon a series of raids and at last a very uncertain speculation, in spite of barbarous cruelties necessitated by the distress of the administration. Salabat Khan's campaign in Rajputana (1750) entailed his bankruptcy, Naval Rai's and Safdar Jang's campaign against the Bangash (1750-51) ended in the same failure as the previous contest with the Rohelas, Najib Khan and finally prince 'Ali Gauhar as the Abdali's deputy experienced the same reverses. The raids of the Mughal subadars in the Punjab only increased the strength of the Sikhs, and in Bihar the zamindars rose against Mir Ja'far. Likewise were the later raids of the Marathas under Malhar Rao Holkar, Raghuji Bhonsla and Mahadaji Sindhia financial failures though they brought unspeakable distress on the afflicted territories, poverty and hunger, dishonour, tortures and death. And even the savage Abdali Shah did not earn the treasures of tribute which had been promised to him but never paid. The end was the continued impoverishment, depopulation, weakening and final demoralisation of India, until it was ripe for a foreign conqueror.

Such was the fate of Delhi, and also of Lucknow, Nagpur, Poona, Gwalior, Lahore.

But as I have already mentioned, there was no general downfall of Indian civilisation. For as we have seen the distress of the provinces was rather the consequence of the increasing luxury of the courts and other centres of power, and of their extravagant expenditure for all forms of luxury and refinements, *e.g.*, society life, arts, literature and science. And this luxury was in the beginning even increased by the political disintegration. For the capitals were divided up into quarters around the pompous palaces of high dignitaries such as Ghazi-ud-din, Qamar-ud-din, Safdar Jang, etc., and of the representatives of the foreign powers, of the Marathas, of the various Rajput courts or of the Nizam, later, of the British resident, with their retinue of party associates, officers and soldiers, administrators, bankers and speculators, servants, artists, learned men and their families and relatives.

These nobles and their attendants, more powerful than the regular city magistrates, vied with the court in the luxury and in the extravagance of their expenditure. For as their position, their power, their wealth were uncertain, as they could to-morrow be out of favour, imprisoned and tortured, as they might be expelled or killed, as their ladies might to-morrow be reduced to misery—incorporated into another harem as had been the fate of the family of Rafi-ud-darajat, of Muzaffar Khan, and others, violated or forced to prostitution as the women of Ghazi-ud-din's, Haibat Jang's and finally Shah 'Alam II's households—most of them hastened to enjoy the pleasures and beauties of life as long as they were the pet-children of Fortuna. As it is said in the most famous song of Renaissance Italy, the "Giovinezza" of Lorenzo di Medici: "di domàn no c'è certezza." A man who like Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk, retained the austere style of life usual under the emperor Aurangzeb, attracted the mockery and derision of the " carpet-knights " of the young Muhammad Shah.

The Delhi of Muhammad Shah thus must have been in its own way a counterpart of the Rome of Renaissance Papacy with its weak administration, its mighty cardinals and aristocratic cliques, with its strong and luxurious palaces, its artists and courtesans, its orgies and homicides, until it ended in the sack by Nadir Shah under the eyes of the helpless emperor, even as Pope Clemens VII had, from his fortified palace, to look on the devastation of the "great harlot" (so Rome then was called by the Protestants) by the German mercenaries of Charles V during the Sacco di Roma. But until this catastrophe Delhi, like Renaissance Rome, was the most refined, the most elegant, but also the most licentious city of the East, a model of luxury and culture for all other countries. It is no accident that Nadir Shah wished to take with him a number of artists, scholars and musicians to Persia, that the Persian female dress of the 18th century is full of Indian features, that the dancing girls of Delhi were the most valued booty at the court of Poona. Likewise the artists and scholars who between 1739 and 1761 left Delhi, found a friendly reception in all the courts of India, like the many Italian painters, architects, musicians, dancers and actresses who in the 16th and 17th centuries spread the beauties of the Renaissance over the whole of Europe.

For though our censure of the political qualities and the sense of responsibility and duty of that society may be severe, we cannot deny their high cultural refinement. Those weak emperors were neither tyrants nor imbeciles. Muhammad Shah and Alamgir II were highly educated men well conversed in the scientific controversies of their times. Muhammad Shah was the protector of the first Golden Age of Urdu poetry and the later Mughal Emperors, Shah Alam II, Akbar II and Bahadur II were themselves excellent poets. Painting was encouraged by Bahadur Shah I as well as by Farrukhsiyar, and the reign of Muhammad Shah was the zenith of later Indian pictorial art, of a new and original sweet style, which is closely connected with the rise of Urdu literature; to the three last Mughal emperors we are indebted

for a last revival of this art which once more tried to evoke the splendour of the 17th century.

May I enumerate all the other centres of cultural life which continued the tradition of decaying Delhi during the late 18th and early 19th centuries? The fairy-like architecture of this period, with its complete synthesis of buildings, gardens and landscape: the baroque pavilions of the Jat residence Dig which are in such a perfect harmony with the wonderful gardens between the two great tanks: the grand theatre decoration of the palaces and the city of Jaipur, carelessly built, but of an astonishing greatness of conception: the heavy Roccoco of the Jodhpur palaces, laid out in gigantic dimensions, and decorated with the most solid and refined elegance: the beautiful waters and the delicate, sweet splendour of Udaipur: or Lucknow, not an evolution of Mughal art in a new spirit, but a transformation of Western Baroque, Roccoco and classicistic architecture into a pseudo-Mughal style—of the Austrian Baroque in the Great Imambara, of the Louis Seize in the Chhattar Manzil, of Potsdam in the Sikandar Bagh, of Trianon in the Kaisar Bagh, of Classicism in the Moti Mahal, and of English Romantic castles in the Pain Bagh: and many others which here I cannot mention?

May I enumerate all the flourishing schools of painting Hyderabad, Poona, Udaipur, Tonk, Gwalior, Benares, Lahore: before all, however, Lucknow, Jaipur and Jodhpur, and finally Kangra, all of which flourished almost up to the middle of the 19th century: Lucknow which tried to combine the best traditions of the old Delhi school with the new themes and ideals of Urdu poetry and technical improvements taken over from Western art: Jaipur and Jodhpur which under the reigns of Sawai Pratap Singh and Sawai Jagat Singh respectively, and under those of Man Singh and Takhat Singh developed a monumental style of wonderful, musical outlines: Kangra which created a fairy country full of sweet, sentimental damsels and swains amidst a world of gardens and woods and mountains, cattle and cowherds and rustic castles?

Or may I describe the parallel cultivation of Urdu literature in Lucknow, Hyderabad, Rampur and other Muhammadan courts, the Baroque and Roccoco age of Indo-Muhammadan poetry, sweet and spicy, glowing and musical, when Insha and Rangin, Nasikh and Atish, Azad and Hali gave a new turn to the tradition of Daud and Soz, Sauda and Mir; when those rulers whose weak government could not prevent the devastation of Oudh by rebellious barons, protected the arts of their capital and ventured themselves into the fields of poetry? Or the flourishing of Hindi literature in many Rajput courts, too extensive to be cited here in detail? Or the encouragement of science by Sawai Jai Singh; whose observatories are still the glory of India? Or may I tell you of the court of Raja Krishnachandra of Nadia in Bengal, of Ramaprasada and Bharatachandra Rai Gunakara, of Raja Rajavallabha of Dacca, etc.? Or of the late renaissance of Marathi literature? What to say of the perfection of music and dance, now rather forgotten, their fascinating power still to be felt in every survival of those times, well worth the while to be revived again; until all this ended in the last frantic ecstasy under the eccentric Wajid Ali Shah who in the Kaisar Bagh of Lucknow, and later in the Matia Burj of Calcutta tried to forget his hypochondry amongst the Saba Saiyara of his poets, his dancing girls and singers, the performances of the first Indian opera, the Indar Sabha of Amanat?

It cannot, of course, be my business to give you an extensive survey of all these achievements. There are others who are more competent than I to deal with the details of these themes. The problem which at present only concerns us, is the position of these fairy works in the contemporary life, full of distress as it was. For they are a fairy-world of dream and ecstasy. These palaces, a world of never-ending flower-ornaments in stone, with no accentuated architectural lines, in an environment of sweet-coloured, sweet-scenting flowers, murmuring fountains and water-falls and sparkling tanks: they are as unreal, as the buildings of the 16th and 17th cen-

turies belong to this world. Or the paintings! What a contrast to the previous creations of Mughal art so famous for their realism! Embodied sentiment, love, romance, music in an unreal atmosphere pregnant with never-heard excitements of the senses, of the soul—loving mistresses and swains, gods and goddesses of the musical modes, sentimental zenana girls and fairy-tales, the tragic story of Rupmati and Baz Bahadur, etc., in quiet gardens and unreal forests, at the golden set of the sun or at the light of torches and of the moon, full of the sympathetic life of the tame or wild beasts and birds. Or take poetry! It is the age of the sweet love poem, enriched by all the old, refined forms of Hindu lyrics, of the sad ravishment of the Marsia in honour of Hassan and Hussain, of the revival of the mystic ecstasies of Radha and Krishna, but also of their diabolic counterparts, the peppered satire and the lascivious Rekhti poem. Even religious literature tends towards this direction with its devotional books. The later it is the more does the sentiment crystallise into pure beauty, the harmony of line, colour, rhythm, sound. Music and dance become the ecstasy of the age, and literature, too, sacrifices its thoughts, its feelings, to the gods of the sounding verse and the glowing metaphor. We must understand the domination of music over this dying civilisation in order to arrive at a just appreciation of its intentions. To criticise its architecture from the conceptions of constructive perspicacity, its painting from those of realism, its poetry from those of clearness and novelty of thoughts would be as absurd as if we were to try to understand a Baroque church or a Roccoco villa, a painting of Greco or Tiepolo, a poem by Marini, Gongora or Pope, from such points of view. But we may do this by a comparison with the music of Lully, Händel or Mozart or with the fugues of Bach.

For the aim of all these refinements is not embodied in real life, it is consciously artificial, "l'art pour l'art," the cultus of beauty as the only real life above the miseries of this earth. Cultured life is the most favourite refuge from everyday life, the refuge into beauty. There are only two other

possibilities of such evasion, drunkenness through alcohol and drugs, or pious resignation to the inscrutable will of God. And indeed, the abuse of liquor and other intoxicants, though not restricted to this time, is a very conspicuous feature of the decaying Mughal-Maratha-Rajput civilisation. A great many of the leading personalities of this time were more or less enslaved to the habit of the excessive use of wine, opium or aphrodisiaca. But in order to be fair we must say that the same vices were not less wide-spread in contemporary Europe. On the other hand, the retirement from worldly affairs into a life of pious devotion is not less remarkable in this age. The dervish and the jogini are likewise a favourite theme of art and literature; the simple, sober life without many wants and fears, far from the vanities, the lies and the ferociousness of the courts became an almost sentimental desire. It is a reaction against the over-refined artificiality, sometimes even a romantic interlude between the successive stages of public intrigue and extravagance, and may degenerate into a fashionable pastime as in Baroque Europe.

But at the bottom of all these varying forms of escape from the sad realities of this life into another world of ideals and illusions there is one and the same strong sentiment, the consciousness of the vanity of all things. In a society without a common task, a common feeling of responsibility, there is nothing outside the individual Ego, there is nothing which could survive the almost certain reversal of the wheel of Fortuna. "Di domàn no c'è certezza," thus the poet of the Renaissance sang; and the catchword of the dying Ancien Régime in France was the "après nous le déluge." *Carpe diem*, enjoy the refined pleasures of the day, as no man can know the fate which awaits him to-morrow.

Thus you will understand the attitude of Muhammad Shah and his court, of Ahmad Shah, of the late Nawabs of Oudh, of a number of other rulers and grandees of this period. If they neglected the administration, the defence of their realm, if in the most critical moments they passed the time in garden parties, feasts and pleasures, if they contented

themselves with some more or less half-hearted diplomatic intrigues to check the most dangerous situations, it was not imbecility, it was the disdain and the indifference of over-refined, effeminate society dandies, artists and scholars for matters in which they could not find any high and creative interest, and which they deemed to be the dull work of barbarian soldiers and narrow-minded routine-bound clerks. It is the attitude of the " ivory tower " so characteristic of the French poets and artists of the " Fin de Siècle." They might perhaps repent the vanities of this world, as did Muhammad Shah in his old days, as did many an 'omrah turned faqir, but they would hardly have understood the contemptible character of their political or military actions. They were, however, only the most prominent representatives of such an attitude; for there are traces enough that this was the attitude of the whole population of Delhi, or later of Lucknow, who valued fashionable elegance and quick wit higher than courage, honesty and efficiency.

You may ask me what then was the positive ideal of this refined society? Look at the paintings, run over the poetical works. It was female beauty! Woman's life, woman's love, woman's dress, woman's beauty, these are the themes,—continuously repeated in love lyrics, in descriptions resembling the Ars Amatoria of Ovidius or some poems of Pope or Dryden, in Holi and Basant Songs, in the Ragmalas and Nayika paintings, the erotic and sentimental romances, the fictitious portraits of Sultanas, Begams and Ranis. These ladies are like the " Dames Galantes " of Brantôme, and it does not matter so much whether they are respectable women or courtesans. They are the mysterious symbols of female beauty and accomplishment, as refined beings as the cavaliers of this age—a treasure removed from ordinary view, delicate, decked in the finest dresses, overladen with jewellery, made-up. They may be the legal wives or concubines, the mothers of heirs to thrones and wazirates. But in a period of quarrelling and intriguing aristocratic factions, when application and efficiency were considered as nothing, and personal influence and relations as the only essential fac-

tor, marriage had become a matter of politics. Marriage meant coalition, and the daughters and sisters of the great nobles were held in high respect. The enemy whose soldiers violated the poor peasant women without any hesitation, found himself bound to treat such prisoners with delicate chivalry. When in 1754 Malhar Rao's Maratha soldiers surprised the camp of Ahmad Shah at Sikandra in a night attack and outraged the imperial ladies, it was Malhar himself who conducted them back to the palace. For to expose such ladies to the public view or to outrage them was the most deadly insult possible. The intrusion of the Barha Sayyids into the imperial zenana was, therefore, one of the reasons of their final downfall, and the atrocities of Ghulam Qadir in the private rooms of Shah ' Alam II in 1788 were avenged by the most awful tortures inflicted on the Rohhla by Mahadji Sindhia's orders. And it was a not unknown fiendishness to marry high-born ladies of some adversary clan to sweepers.

But the cult of female beauty and love are not the same thing as the bonds of marriage. Highly honoured as these noble ladies were, it was the dancer, the singer, the courtesan who monopolized the heart and the fancy of the age. There were, of course, vulgar women who had nothing but their inborn beauty like Lal Kunwar, Koki Jiu, Udham Bai, whose influence on public life had been fatal. And for most of these ladies the teachings of the Kok Shasters were as sufficient as those of the Kamasutra in ancient times. But there were many others who were better educated and more refined and high-minded than many a respectable lady. They were renowned poetesses and accomplished artists, such as Farh Bakhsh, Ziya, Garshin, Jan of Farrukhabad, Nazakat, Taswir, etc. And sweet romances were connected with their memory. May I only mention Ganni Begam, the mistress of Imad-ul-Mulk!

It would be unfair to throw the blame on women whose social and moral position was rather the outcome of a very peculiar situation and whose part in the splendour of Indian culture in this age cannot be esteemed less highly

than that of the hetairai of ancient Greece or of the great courtesans of the Renaissance and of the Roccoco, companions of the most eminent men of their times. But, of course, there was a dark side to this cultus of women. For it was the cultus of female beauty, and the ex-favourite might end forgotten in the oblivion of a zenana, or as a jogini or even poor prostitute. It was rather an aesthetic appreciation comparable to that of the ballerina in Roccoco France and Italy when kings and princes lay at the feet of the adored "divina," when the admiration for a perfect artist ennobled love relations which else are only respected in marriage. To-day Indian dancing girls have, no doubt, sunk as much in reputation as the balleteuses in the bourgeois Europe of the 19th century. For it was art and perfection that ennobled them, and in those times of artistic connoisseurship, this artistic appreciation could be the whole content of this earthly life, the centre of all the beauty that made life worth living in the midst of so much misery and distress, ferocity and uncertainty.

I shall not pretend that the picture of Indian civilisation in the 18th and early 19th centuries which I have tried to sketch, will do justice to all the aspects and personalities of this period. Life is so manifold that you will find people of every sort and every qualification in any time. What I wished to show to you, is the main psychological atmosphere at the back of both the seemingly so contrasting, so unreconcilable sides of the decaying civilisation then essentially common to the Mughals, Marathas and Rajputs,—the hopeless political and economic decay, and the brilliant, refined, sweet culture of the courts. I have tried to explain to you that this contrast is in no way an extraordinary phenomenon, but that it can be found also in other late forms of civilisation, like the Cinquecento Renaissance in Italy, the Baroque and the Roccoco in Spain and France and other places, where you can find not only the same contrast, but also the same general character, the amorality and licentiousness in connection with a very cultivated sense of beauty, a beauty outside

everyday life, dreamy and musical, mystic and sensuous, embodied in woman. I have tried to set out how all these over-refined civilisations have ended in a catastrophe, often at the hands of foreign, more robust and healthy conquerors. There must be no bitter sting in such a defeat when we understand how general it has been in human history, how little it has discredited the great cultural achievements of those preceding times which have remained the living heritage of later generations.

Indian history of the 18th and early 19th centuries has until lately been a rather neglected field of studies. Though during the last decades very valuable and useful preparatory work has been done by sifting and arranging the immense mass of documentation preserved, historians on the whole have been perplexed by the contrasts of Indian life and institutions in this period. As I have, however, already remarked, this embarrassment was, to my modest opinion, the inevitable result of an ill-chosen point of view. Though the ideas of the 19th century, and especially those of the Victorian Age, no doubt, appeal much more to the mental attitude and the wants of our time, they cannot be the suitable starting point for the understanding of a civilisation of quite another social and cultural structure. Only the comparison, if at all, with other late and over-ripe cultures like that of England under the Stuarts, of France under Louis XIV to Louis XVI, of Spain under Philip III and IV and Charles II, of Italy in the period from the Borgia Popes to the death of the Emperor Charles V, will give you a real clue to the understanding of the crisis of Indian civilisation before its final collapse and the coming of British influence. But this very comparison will set out to you also the field in which you must see the importance of this period for the history of India, for the history of humanity. It was not the political, the economic, the practical side, it was the aesthetic refinement of life. And this aesthetic culture will be its heritage for the future of India.

I should like to conclude my lecture with this appreciation, if a last question did not preoccupy my mind. By compa-

rison with other countries I have demonstrated to you that Indian life in this critical time exhibited all the morbid characteristics of a late, decaying civilisation. I have tried to sketch to you the way into this crisis. But there remains the question why this crisis could not be avoided, why even the promising Maratha power, instead of regenerating India, succumbed to the same infection. As I have already told you, I believe this to be an essentially moral problem, the absence of an ideal to be realised by a community, a society, a nation. For ideals are the product of the tradition-bound human thought. But in order to awake the creative idealism of man, they must be realisable, *i.e.*, they must be in harmony with the needs of a country, which are the product of the relations between the peoples living in it and around it. Centuries of Muhammadan rule had mixed Hindus and Muhammadans beyond any chance of separation. As long as the Muhammadan power was unchecked, there was an inspiring ideal, at least for one party. As long as Akbar's policy of toleration was maintained, a loyal collaboration between Hindus and Muslims was possible. But with the reign of Aurangzeb things came to a deadlock. His intolerance, which no doubt was guided by a true idealism, could not fail to arouse the bitter resentment and the deadly hatred of all good Hindus. And the helplessness of the Mughal armies encumbered with an unwieldy mass of guns, tents, etc., before the swift guerilla warfare of the Marathas made a decision by pure force, too, impossible. As champions of a Hindu revival, the Marathas, however, were sure to attract the resistance of all the Muhammadans, who in spite of all the quarrels and the distrust among themselves finally combined against them; their devastating raids and oppressions alienated also their Rajput and other Hindu friends. Thus they were crushed at Panipat when confronted with the murderous swivel-guns of the Abdali Shah; for though superior in their swift raids, they were not even a match for the inefficient Mughal armies in a pitched battle. The Abdali, finally, was too terrible a barbarian not to repel his refined Indian co-religionists; but

without reliable allies the Afghan mountaineers were as unable to maintain their hold on the Indian plains as the Mughal princes had been before Akbar's alliance with the Rajputs. Thus, without a hope for a definitive military decision ending the continuous warfare, without a constructive ideal uniting the different religions and nationalities of India in the midst of an exhausing struggle of ever-changing alliances, there was no more any practical aim in this world for the human creative will. Limited to the problems and interests of the individual, idealism had to seek its realm outside practical life in the world of piety, which exercises charity only for the sake of God's Grace, or in that of pure beauty, in the enrapturing ecstasy of dream, love and music. This refined culture was a wonderful flower, but it had grown on poisoned ground. The fatal collapse was inevitable. The dominion over India, exhausted and demoralized, came to those who could point a way out of the deadlock, because they were not hampered by ideals sprung from traditions in opposition to the necessities of the time, who could secure a peaceful life for Hindus as well as Muhammadans, because both religions, both traditions were not their own, and who could proffer at least a way to practical material reconstruction. Thus modern India has sprung from the crisis of Indian civilisation but her problems are not the task of my lecture. I am, however, convinced that the heritage of that refined Indian culture of the 18th and early 19th centuries will at some time be one of the most important and most valuable contributories to the great cultural revival to come in this country.

THE GENESIS OF INDO-MUSLIM CIVILISATION

A century has not yet passed since the last representative of that brilliant phase of India's past—the rule of the Mughal emperors—was gathered to his ancestors. It is perhaps the best-known period in Indian history, and thus we have also the possibilities of studying it so much in detail as no earlier age. Of no other past age have we such an extensive documentation on almost every side of life. Not the least among these documents is art, as the immense mass of paintings left by them enables us to reconstruct even those aspects of Mughal life, which the accounts of the historians and the documents of the record offices ignore. And it is not only the private side of life, the intimacies of the court as well as of the peasant, the sadhu and the dervish, that are revealed to us. Before the eye of the experienced investigator all the fashions and currents of life, art and thought become obvious, and behind them the invisible, but powerful undercurrents of politics and civilisation.

Nay more! For Mughal civilisation is but one of the last storeys in the imposing edifice of India's age-old civilisation. It represents that phase of its development which preceded our present-day life. It is the connecting link between the Indian Middle-Ages and the modern times. It will be, therefore, one of the most important links in our researches in India's past.

It is well-known that ethnologists have made use of the systematic analysis of the living external forms of primitive civilisations without any definite historical tradition behind them, in order to arrive at a classification of successive or

contiguous layers of their cultural history.[1] Though these researches have hitherto mostly been applied to primitive civilisation, there is no reason to restrict them to that field of scientific activity. For the underlying problem is not one of ethnology or of pre-history alone; it also occurs in the historical development of all civilisations, the primitive as well as the most refind. For in reality there are no fundamental distinctions between political and economic history, or that of art, ethnology, religion, etc.. They are but the different aspects of one creative life. In applying ethnological methods to the investigation into the history of higher civilisations, we must, however, remind ourselves that they cannot be a substitute, but only a supplement to researches based on documents and traditions regarding literature or art. Such a supplement is also a corrective, as it makes clear all those changes in human life which, though of the greatest historical importance, had, by their slowness or by their changing interpretation, escaped the consciousness of those who experienced them.

From this point of view, however, a comprehensive knowledge of Mughal civilisation will enable us not only to make use of present-day ethnographical evidence for the reconstruction of Classical and Mediaeval Indian civilisation by separating all the remains of the Muhammadan times from the stock of surviving traditions, but also study the manner in which Indian civilisation has grown up and developed, and the forces underlying this development. The genesis of Indo-Moslem civilisation means the genesis of those forms of life which are the basis of our present-day problems, which again means the making of modern India as contrasted with the India of classical and mediaeval times.

Of course the forces which produced this change towards modern life must be sought in the continuous cultural influx,

[1] The so-called " Kulturkreislehre " as it has been developed by Frobenius, Graebner, Pater Schmidt and others, and the similar methods developed in pre-historic research. Of course, only the leading principle of this method can be applied to the study of more refined civilisations.

—goods, ideas and institutions,—brought from the West to India by the repeated Muslim invasions of more than a millennium. The investigation into the cultural history of Muhammadan India, especially of her earlier centuries, is still insufficient but even the inadequate materials available are abundant, compared to those of which we can make use for the study of any other period. They are so numerous and varied that a complete analysis would go far beyond the space at my disposal. I shall therefore confine this article to an examination of the results of several years' research into the history of the material civilisation of the Indo-Muslim peroid,[2] of its origins during the so-called Pathan period and the development of its characteristic forms during Mughal Rule, as they have been transmitted to us in the shape of original objects and pictorial representations. Above all, the enormous number of small, but, when we consider their contents, very varied paintings of the time of the Mughal rulers, allows us to get an all-round picture of this later phase of Indo-Muhammadan culture, particularly of its material aspects.

At first sight it may seem rather bold to assert that a subject like painting, in which the imagination of the artist is allowed full scope, should form the introduction to my attempt to give an answer to such a far-reaching question. I may, however, draw your attention to the fact that the attempt to make use of pictures for the investigation of ancient civilisations has already been frequently made in Europe in the case of our own miniature paintings of the Middle Ages or of the works of the painters of the Renaissance and of the Baroque period. In the ancient Mediterranean countries the Greek vases and the Etruscan tomb-frescoes have served the same purpose. In the Ancient Orient the representations on the walls of the Egyptian tombs and temples and the reliefs in the palaces of Nineveh and Babylon, in the Far East

[2] Bilderatlas zur Kulturgeschichte Indiens in der Grossmoghul-Zeit, Berlin (Dietrich Reimer) 1930.—The Genesis of Indo-Muslim Civilisation (Ars Islamica, I, pp. 46-50, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1934).

the Japanese woodcuts and the frescoes of Eastern Turkestan,[3] etc., have all afforded us information as to the civilisation of their times. Thus, if I have undertaken to do this for the India of the Mughal period, I am only following in the footsteps of many others. It is a fact that according to our experience up to the present, pictorial representations have proved untrustworthy as a source of information when the artists, either for want of proper artistic education or because of his working with an eye on the past, imitated the pictures of an older period. On the other hand, they are most dependable when, though a master of technique the artist was not hindered by his social position or by his erudition from painting naively what his eyes saw. The late Mediaeval French and Flemish miniatures, for instance, are therefore one of the most valuable sources we have for providing the historian of civilised life with answers to many of the questions dealing with Mediaeval life in the West. In this respect, conditions in India resembled those of Mediaeval Europe. Judging from incidental notes in the works of Bernier and in the memoirs of the Indian Emperors as well as from the signatures of the artists themselves we gather that most of the latter were simple artisans without any higher education; their most important representatives were hereditary servants of the court, their office often being handed down for generations. Their art is therefore naive and gives a faithful picture, not necessarily of the event depicted, but of the general culture of their period. Besides, they had to select their themes according to the orders given them by the court. And, we may say, seldom was any court so indifferent to the literature of fiction, fairy tales and romance as that of the Mughal Emperors.[4] For instance, in Persia sagas of the heroes, romances and tales have far more occupied

[3] A. von Le Coq, Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens, Berlin, 1925.

[4] Note the remarks in the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri. A certain interest in romance is obvious only during the early Mughal period still under Persian influence, and again during its late days since Muhammad Shah.

the interest of litterateurs and artists. But how little of this we find in India! History, memoirs, the life of every day, these were the themes for a court of adventurers, a small upper class without old traditions, living in a constant struggle of man against man and as a whole forced to keep a population of millions under their sway, they themselves being but a tiny minority. All these conditions trained them to find their joys and pleasures in realities, to be sharp observers of the world around them and to demand the same of the artists who served these military men.

Of course the research worker cannot depend entirely on the information gleaned from the works of the old painters; it will be his duty to compare the results from this source with the originals which have been preserved. Yet from long experience it can be maintained that when critically examined, the paintings are able to bear such a comparison, for in one respect nothing can take their place as sources of information. In their many-sidedness they surpass all the buildings that have been preserved, all the single objects of applied art and those for use in daily life which we find scattered about in various collections; they show us on each picture a great number of objects; we see customs and incidents in their temporal and local connection with the life of the period. So, while we may be in doubt as to the single object, where it comes from, how old it is, what was its use, etc., the picture itself presents us with the solution of the last question and gives us the answers to the others when we compare more extensive series of types.

It is not necessary for this purpose to enter into a detailed account of the course of the political history of the Indo-Muhammadan period. It took centuries to build up the Muhammadan power in India till it reached its climax in the Empire of the Great-Mughals; from the conquest of Sindh by the Arabs 712, to Mahmud of Ghazni (997-1030) who broke the power of the North Indian Rajput dynasties, from the Mamluck Sultans (13th century) to the different "Pathan" dynasties under which almost the whole of India was united, forming one great Muhammadan power; and finally it was

once again broken up into a number of smaller Sultanates well able to support themselves.

In spite of many valuable details given us in the historical works of the age, the account we have of the culture of these early Muhammadan times in India is still vague enough, for, besides the very insufficient details scattered through the different chronicles, the only circumstantial description we have is of a short period under Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq left by the traveller Ibn Battuta. Our knowledge of architecture has only lately begun to be increased by excavations. As to pre-Mughal painting we have only a few scanty examples of it belonging to the very last period contemporary with the beginnings of the Mughal Empire in the early 16th century. But in spite of all these difficulties certain conclusions as to the ' external ' side of ' Pathan ' civilisation[5] are possible by way of ethnological deduction, because much of it has been preserved in the life of the common people in the then outlying districts, as well as in many Rajput states even down to the Mughal period and, consequently, in the art of the latter.

I am firmly convinced that it will be possible to reconstruct the civilisation of India in those remote periods as soon as we shall have succeeded in disclosing new sources of documentation available not only by an ethnological analysis of archaeological evidence, but also by a similar investigation into the historical prototypes of modern local culture goods, customs and traditions.

Even the genuine Indian foundations of civilised life were subjected to great inner changes before and during the earliest times of Muhammadan rule in Northern India, even before these had come into a more direct contact with the civilisation of the new conquerors. For there was a gradual transformation of the ancient Hindu civilisation into a more primitive type by an adaptation to the juvenile ethnic spirit of

[5] The term " Pathan " is here used in the conventional sense comprising the whole pre-Mughal period of Muhammadan rule in India.

the Rajputs, who during the disorders following the invasion of the Huns and the downfall of the Gupta Empire had emerged from the fold of semi-barbarian, partly semi-nomadic Indian and other tribes. This process seems to have made more rapid progress from about the end of the 12th century, when the superficial adoption of Hindu culture by these tribes and by the castes of more recent origin was completed. Thus everywhere in Northern India during the Mughal period we find an almost uniform civilisation of a rural and feudal character contrasting strongly with that of the South—more conservative in this regard. The Muhammadans, however, for a number of centuries had then been the supreme rulers of the country and had made the Rajputs either landowners subject to their rule (Zamindars) or, in the districts bordering on both sides of the great Indian plains, vassals possessing their own states. Thus the latter had divided into several groups of different cultural types. Of these the northern group was the more archaic; it covered a narrow strip of territories in the lower Himalaya hills from Kashmir to Nepal which, at an early date, had been isolated from the other Rajput states. Rather easily accessible from the plains and intersected by mountain ranges, it was at the same time more subject to foreign influences. It was, we may say, more "provincial;" the number of the main types of its cultural goods was smaller than in the other Rajput areas, though there were many local variants in dress, wooden buildings, thatched roofs, stoves, etc., which of course, were largely due to climatic conditions. The southern group, on the other hand, in the vast deserts and mountains of Rajputana and of the provinces situated to the East of it, had better preserved the ancient cultural traditions though the number of local variants was small. On the whole, it was on an essentially higher level of civilisation than the Himalayan districts. There are other groups in Gujarat, Bengal and Bihar, not yet sufficiently analysed to allow a more detailed characterisation. Common to them all, however, are a certain rural character, a rather coarse technique, a simplicity of forms and a love of colour, as well as a certain back-

wardness when compared with the civilisation of Hindustan proper, more obvious when compared with that of their Muhammadan rulers.

We have a far less distinct picture of early Muhammadan civilisation in India. As the expression of the life of a rather isolated upper class its earlier forms could leave behind only sporadic traces; but they are not lacking either in the traditions and customs of dervishes and of some non-orthodox wandering tribes (Banjaras, etc.), or as asismilated imitations in the traditions of some Hindu groups.

What remains to us of the earliest Muhammadan period up to the downfall of the 'Abbasid Caliphate is very scanty! The fashion of this time, which goes back to the dress of the early Christian and early Islamic times, known to us from finds discovered in Egypt, can be studied in the miniatures of the so-called "Bagdad" school. It consists of a flat, loosely wound turban, sometimes with a tie under the chin, and a shirt (Qamis) with wide sleeves ornamented with inscribed ribbons and with a short breast opening bordered with ribbons. As a part of dress this short shirt has survived among the dervishes and the Vaishnava ascetics and Joginis; the turban with the tie under the chin, still used in Northern Africa, was, in the India of the 16th century, used by many wandering tribes, shepherds and carrier castes.[6] During Sikh rule which brought a hitherto socially lower class to power, a variant with a neck-cloth became the official headdress in the Punjab.

It may be that the Koran stand also found its way to India at this very early period. There are certain characteristics especially in the architecture of some Rajput castles, that can only be derived from the post-Sassanian architecture of the Iraq. Such characteristics are, for instance, the towers of the enclosures, evidently arranged not so much

[6] For instance in the Akbar-Namah, South Kensington Museum, London; in the Hamzah-Namah, etc.

from a defensive point of view as from a more decorative one.[7] Similar is the case with the arrangement of the rooms according to the Ancient Eastern Khilani ground-plan, *i.e*, a portico with one or two rooms on both sides. — In India[8] this arrangement is found already in the Man Mandir of Gwalior Fort and in all the palaces of the Mughal Emperors as well as in those of most of the contemporary Hindu Rajahs. Most of the bhawans in gardens and in larger private palaces were also of the same type. A further type in which the Khilani scheme was reduplicated on a cross-shaped groundplan, had, however, fallen into desuetude, except in the Deccan. Finally, we may cite the wall niches grouped in double rows one above the other. For all these architectural forms had found their classic expression in the Mesopotamian castles, in Ukhaidir, etc., as well as in the Caliphs' palaces of Samarra many centuries ago.[9]

In the Near East this period is followed by the earlier Turkish period, the most important dynasties of which were the Saljuqs. Its beginning may be reckoned, however, a century earlier with the first independent Kurdish and Turkish states, and it was at last swept away by the Mongol invasion. The innovations then introduced had in early Mughal India become for the most part the common property of the Moslems and of the majority of the Rajputs.

Thus the close-fitting turban of these times developed into the Pagri which, in the 16th century, on the initiative of Akbar, replaced the large turban of the Timurid fashion and remained so in use among the Mughals till the early 19th century. This Mughal turban became in its turn the prototype of all the head dresses worn by the Marathas at

[7] The decoration of the walls by a series of projecting towers is a very old conception. It is a feature of the earliest Babylonian and Egyptian buildings, from which it was transmitted to the Persians, Sassanians and finally into Muhammadan architecture.

[8] O. Reuther, Indische Paläste und Wohnhäuser, Berlin, 1925.

[9] G. L. Bell, Ukhaidir, Oxford, 1914.—E. Herzfeld, Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Samarra, 1912.

the present day, and indeed of many of the North and Middle Indian Hindu castes. Next we have the Qaba fastened under one shoulder. This coat is of Central Asian origin[10] and since the time of Akbar has been in common use among Hindus and Muhammadans though fastened on different sides. Here we may also mention different other utensils such as lamps and incensories. A peculiar type of oil-lamp, for instance, can be traced to Egypt in the 12th and to Mesopotamia in the 13th century. It consists of a dish with one or several wicks above a kind of saucer which was placed on a thick columned stand with three or four legs.[11] The hanging lamps have a certain resemblance to the celebrated enamelled glass lamps of the Syrian Mosques.[12] On a miniature of the time of Jahangir we see an incensory [13] resembling the Persian ones of the 12th century (in London, Paris, Berlin) which in their turn were derivatives of an Ancient Eastern, *i.e.*, Egyptian-Babylonian-Persian form; early examples of the latter type are to be found on the monuments of Mathura and of Buddhist Eastern Turkestan (in Qumtura). To these traces of Saljuq civilisation we may possibly add certain tent forms, as, for instance, the low Zamindoz (camping tent) and the house-shaped Khargah tent.

The civilisation of the so-called Pathans,—up to the Suri Sultans—as well as of certain upper Rajput classes was, however, under the dominant influence of Turkestan. Most

[10] It is still used in Tibet and Mongolia.

[11] On a miniature in Berlin (17th century). Kühnel, Islamische Kleinkunst, 1925, fig. 105.

[12] Akbar-Namah, South Kensington, No. 23; Razm-Namah, Jaipur (ed. Hendley, pl. 12).—Schmoranz, Altorientalische Gläser, Vienna, 1898.

[13] S. Kheiri, Indische Miniaturen, pl. 27; F. R. Martin, Miniature Painting and Painters, II, pl. 208; Goetz, Bilderatlas, fig. 9.—Persia, 12th century: Kühnel, Islamische Kleinkunst, fig. 107.—Qumtura: Le Coq, in Berliner Museen, 1921, pp. 87 ff.—Akhaemenidian Persia: Sarre, Kunst des alten Persien, pl. 117.—Mathura: Kramrisch, Grundzüge der indischen Kunst, pl. 19.

prominent was the style of life of the early Timurid Empire;[14] as that of the later kingdoms, especially the brilliant court of Husain Baiqara was not introduced into Hindustan before the time of the first Mughal Emperors.

For we must remember that the invasion of the Mongols[15] changed almost entirely the character of Eastern Muhammadan civilisation. For another mixed civilisation had been brought to the West by Chinghiz Khan. Among the Tokharians and Uigurs of Central Asia a new style of life had emerged from Iranian, Scythian and even Chinese elements; this culture,[3] after the subjugation of the Uigurs, had been adopted by the Mongols and amalgamated with many Chinese elements. The Central Asian dress of this time (still preserved to some extent among the Kalmuks) somewhat assimilated to Muhammadan taste, had found its way to India through the model set by the influence of Turkestan, more particularly since its rise to eminence and fame under Timur (1369-1405). We must ascribe to this time the following things: the long-sleeved Qaba fastened under the right shoulder and the long-sleeved coat (Jupa'i-French: Jupe) fastened by a row of buttons down the front and generally tied together by a belt ornamented with artistic bronze buttons. Since the time of Timur also a coat trimmed up with braids came into the fashion (just as the braidings of the European Hussar uniforms have their origin in Inner Asia). In the Deccan this latter fashion lasted till the end of the 16th century, in Northern India it was frequently adopted by the Rajputs,[16] both men and women. In the case of men it was replaced by the Qaba fastening at the left side, in that of women it has influenced the style of the

[14] The term "Timurid" is here limited to the kingdom of Timur and of his successors in Turkestan and Persia, whereas the dynasty founded by Babur is classified as Mughal.

[15] The term "Mongol" is here applied to the followers and successors of Chinghis Khan until the rise of Timur.

[16] Akbar-Namah, etc.—Kühnel-Goetz, Indian Book Painting, London, 1926.

tunic called "Jaguli;" and this jaguli, since the beginning of the 17th century, was to become the dress of the Mughal women.[17] Along with these costumes we have felt caps of different types, the most important being those shaped like the hats which up to the end of the Manchu dynasty, were worn by the Chinese mandarins. About the middle of the 16th century, these hats occasionally survive among the Indian Pathans;[18] in the Deccan, they were the general headdress of men, women and children until the early 18th century.[19] Among the Mughals it has remained only as the headgear of the Urdubegis (the female guards of the zenana); but far away from the culture of the time it can be traced long afterwards as a part of the dress of the shepherds or of the Brahmans in the Western Himalayas.[20] On the other hand, under Shahjahan (1628-1659) a much altered form was introduced from the Deccan into the Mughal Court and remained up to 1800 the badge of young girls, favourite slaves and companions of great ladies. This altered form is a close-fitting cap with a turned-up border of brocade but mostly of finely-pleated muslin.[21] Another form of this "mandarin hat" which had a scalloped border set with gold and gems, served as the crown of the princes since Mongol times. Probably the crowns of Mediaeval Europe in contrast to the forehead fillet of the early Germanic times, have their origin here. In this form [22] we find it worn by Firoz Shah of Bengal 1532, and by the earlier rulers of Bijapur and Golconda, as

[17] Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst, I, 1924, p. 67 ff.

[18] Kühnel-Goetz, *op. cit.*

[19] Rupam, No. 29, p. 4; Stchoukine, Peinture Indienne, 1929, pl. 49; Irvine, Storia de Mogor, IV, pl. 43, 49.

[20] Coomaraswamy, Catalogue of Rajput Paintings, Boston, 1926, pl. 70; Gupta, Lahore Catalogue, pl. 18; Schulz, Persisch-Islamische Miniaturmalerei, II, pl. 190.

[21] Blochet, Enluminures des MSS. Orientaux, 1926, pl. 113; Strzygowski, Indische Miniaturen von Schönbrunn, 1923, Nos. 9, 30, 51; etc.

[22] Irvine, Storia de Mogor, III, pl. 34; Martin, Miniature Painting and Painters, II, pl. 179, 201; etc.

well as by Babur and the princesses of the early Mughal court. On the hair of these ladies we see another diadem[23] which recalls to us the old Indian diadem of the early Middle Ages. This curious fact may perhaps be explained thus. These crowns were actually a combination of the Uigur "mandarian hat" and the Indian diadem introduced by Buddhism, so that we have before us the return of an old Indian ornament, by diverse ways, to its place of origin first *via* the expansion of Buddhism to the East and then *via* the Central Asian nomadic tribes to the West[24] and South. A further variant is a high pointed cap sometimes with a turned-up border "à la mode de Tartarie," as it is called in an old French account of the late Byzantine Empire.[25] In the 16th century it[26] was the particular dress of the Pathans under the Suri Dynasty; among the Mughals it was the court dress under Humayun; under Akbar it was the dress of the pages, grooms and forerunners. Of all these caps and hats, as well as of the pointed cap of the Chagatai ladies[27] which was related to the hennin of the ladies in France and the Netherlands of the 15th century, Turkestan or Persia must be regarded as the country of origin. A late reminiscence of this pointed cap, too, is found in Southern India among the higher classes of Golconda and Hyderabad in the first half of the 18th century.

Another novelty introduced from the Far East was, no doubt, the wind lanterns.[28] In Turkestan we find them as early as in the reign of Timur. Their most archaic form was that of a cylinder of wire net-work with a metal border at

[23] Binyon-Arnold, Court Painters of the Grand Moguls, 1921.

[24] Goetz, An Indian Element in European Renaissance Art, in Havell Commemoration Volume.

[25] G. I. Bratianu, in Seminarium Kondakovianum, VII, p. 165 ff., 1935.

[26] Goetz, Bilderatlas, fig. 131; Kühnel-Goetz, *op. cit.*

[27] Goetz, Bilderatlas, figs. 39, 72, 77, 111, 113.

[28] P. Brown, Indian Painting under the Mughals, London, 1923, pl. 34; Hamzah-Namah; Akbar-Namah; etc.

the top, a type which in the 16th century was still occasionally used by the Hindus of Northern India. During the Mughal period, however, the general fashion was lanterns shaped like glass-shades or in the form of miniature pavilions. It is impossible to arrive at any chronological classification of these types, but it seems that the more complicated forms are earlier than the simpler ones. The lanterns in the form of Timurid miniature pavilions which were mostly portable belong all to the 16th and early 17th centuries. Here and there we may find a trace of them later on in the bell-shaped wind lanterns among the Hindus.

Possibly we may be justified to assign the beginnings of the predilection for Chinese porcelain[29] to this period. At all events, it is certain that it was much in use under the early Mughal Emperors. But as early as in the late 'Abbasidian Empire China-wares were highly valued in the Muhammadan world, still more the predominance of so after Far Eastern taste in the wake of the Mongol invasion. In the 16th and 17th centuries the Persian Safavides imported and imitated extensively the late Ming and the K'ang Hsi wares (especially the white and blue vessels of the Wan-Li period). Many large porcelain dishes and little bowls and saucers from Persia and India are thus accurate counterfeits of Far Eastern models, *e.g.*, the lotus-shaped and the fluted bowls. We may, however, leave the question undecided whether in this case India was only the recipient. It is not improbable that at an earlier date these very types were brought from the Ancient East, particularly Egypt, to China through the medium of the Indian civilisation.[30] A proof for such an introduction of vessels of a foreign,—Indian or Western,[31]—type, may be seen in the fact that a vessel in the Shosoin, the treasure

[29] It is impossible to give here a detailed documentation. See Bilderatlas, p. 47 f.

[30] At least the successive appearance of these vessel-forms in the different civilisation makes such an explanation probable.

[31] Toyei Shuko (Japanese Edition), 1925-28, I, pl. 38; III, pl. 6; VI, pl. 19.

of the Japanese Emperor Shomu, is a copy of an Indian Chilumchi, introduced probably through the agency of Buddhist missionary activity; in the same way the jugs there must go back to a common Sassanian model (the more so as the inventory of A.D. 775 characterizes them as " foreign "). A similar case may perhaps be found in the vases and jugs widening towards the upper part of their belly but with a narrow spout and neck; the earliest examples of the type can be traced in the Ancient East, but some archaic pieces of the same form, however, are still to be seen in Mughal paintings. In China we find them not before the T'ang period and so they may possibly be of the same origin. Their later Chinese forms, vases with a narrow neck or Baluster vases, now found their way back to India. Other types with handles and lids are but a further development of them. Other Persian and Mughal-Indian vases correspond to the so-called " ginger-pots; " others again to the Prunus vases. The wine bottles too are very often in the Chinese style. How far the bottles of a ground shape or those with a rectangular bottom and a tiny neck are of Far Eastern origin or a genuine Persian transformation of a Chinese prototype, may remain a matter of doubt.

It is better not to discuss the furnishings and the architecture of this period as we are still unable to make an exact distinction between Mongolian and early Timurid forms on the one hand and those of the early Mughals (Chagatais) on the other. I shall, therefore, return to the subject later on when I have to deal with the Chagatai culture of Mughal India.

But some words must be said on armature. For it was in this century that the type took its final shape, which was the standard rule until it lost its value through the adoption of the European manner of fighting at the end of the 18th century. I should not dare, however, to outline the history of one single object, such as it is, and least of all, the Muhammadan plate and chain armour. You know that its origin must be sought in ancient Assyria but its perfection

has been the work of the Sassanians.[31] In the following period,[32] however, there are so many everchanging relations between the Near and the Far East *via* the Central Asian migratory tribes, borrowings and adaptations on both sides, that it would be preposterous to make any more substantiated statement. We may, anyhow, assume that the round shield and the short composite bow also belong to this period. We find traces of such bows in India already during the rule of the Kushanas (*e.g.*, on a relief from Mathura).[33] But the typical Indian weapons through the Middle Ages have unquestionably been the long sword and the lance, the simple long bow and the square stand shield. Among the Rajputs, however, even such primitive weapons as sticks with a small piece of leather for the protection of the hand were used in the place of shields up to the 16th century.[34] Like many weapons familiar in ancient India (*e.g.*, in the Ajantā frescoes), it has found its way also to Indonesia and Africa.

The picture we have of the character of Indian civilisation at the beginning of the Mughal period is as follows: The basis is a considerable layer of cultural elements to be traced back to early Aryan, partly even to pre-Aryan times; in the Deccan these elements are still closely allied to the Hindu traditions of the Gupta Period and of the Middle Ages, but in the North they show their own Rajput, *i.e.*, a "primitivised" Indian character. Over this basis we find in the South layers taken from the whole history of Muhammadan civilisation until the end of the Mongol times as well as later Arabian, Persian, Ottoman and European influences which were brought by the maritime trade over the Arabian Sea. In the north influences due to the Arabian civilisation

[32] The Mughal plate and chain armour is the product of Timurid Turkestan, and an improvement on the type of the Mongol period, more related with the Far East.

[33] J. Ph. Vogel, La Sculpture de Mathura, Paris.

[34] Razm-Namah, Jaipur (ed. Hendley).

of the 'Abbasid Empire are to be found among the lower castes and the Muhammadan dervishes; others, due to the Saljuqs and the early and middle Timurid epoch among the Rajputs and Pathans. Into this world the invasion of the Mughals under Babur and Humayun introduced a new strong wave of Central Asiatic influences, the elements of which were derived from the late Timurid civilisation of Samarkand and Herat or the Persian civilisation of the time of the two Safavian Shahs Ismail and Tahmāsp I; the latter, however, was itself but another offspring of the late Timurid culture. This wave of new forms of cultural life continued quite a time and was not absorbed before the first two decades of the 17th century.

Consistent with this late, and, if you like to call it so, decadent form of Turkestani culture, fashions[35] of the reigns of Babur and Humayun were affected and pompous, though as a consequence of the half nomadic conditions of their rough motherland the cut of the costumes was easy and well-suited for practical purposes and for sport. Male dress consisted of a high, round turban in the time of Babur and of a high, brimmed cap in the reign of Humayun; the common folk had a cap with a border of fur (Qalpaq). Further, rather narrow riding breeches (Shalvar) reaching to the knees or ankles and a short jacket (Nimtanah) or a Jamah fastening at the right side were used, both suitable for riding; only on official occasions or for dignitaries such as priests and ministers was it customary to have an open over-coat (Farji) with short sleeves or sometimes with long, flowing ones, which let out the arms by means of a cross opening in the middle of the upper sleeve. The girdle consisted of a cloth tied loosely round the waist or of a leather belt with ornamental buttons; the feet were put into top boots, the head was shaved, the pointed beard was sparse. Women's dress was also adapted to a life in the

[35] "Princes of the House of Timur," British Museum; Kühnel-Goetz, *op. cit.*; intermixed with the fashions of Akbar's reign in the Hamzah-Namah, the Akbar-Namah, the Darab-Namah (British Museum, Ms. Or. 4615); Babur-Namah (Ms. Or. 3714); etc.

saddle—riding breeches, a coat with wide hanging sleeves, instead of the jamah a long skirt (Qamis) with a breast opening. On their flowing hair they wore a cloth kept together by a band (Lachak); ladies of rank preferred a high pointed cap resembling the Hennin worn in Europe in the 15th century, sometimes with a kerchief as protection of the neck from the sun; on great occasions they wore a diadem (Taq) of Indian origin which at this time had found its way from Central Asia back to India, but also *via* Persia and Turkey to Europe.[36]

The Mughals introduced also textiles of a highly refined taste, the style of which probably was an offshoot of Far Eastern art. The ornamentation (principally on brocades) shows mostly recurring, asymmetrical groups of pompous floral motives, grenade blossoms, scattered flame patterns, alternate light and dark stripes (as opposed to the simpler squares and scattered flowers of Mediaeval Indian textiles).

In furnishings[37] too the new Central Asian types now acquire a place in Indian life beside the former old Indian furniture made of a framework of poles and laths, with fillings of small sticks or planks, plaiting or cloth; this latter tradition had been common to the Ancient East. The special characteristics of the Central Asian type, however, are the trunk or chest and the rectangular box, or the derivatives of these in the form of tables, chairs and thrones made of planks, leather and metal. They have, of course, not evaded the influence of the Ancient Eastern style, *e.g.*, in the addition of the legs and in the structure of the framework, but they have themselves altered the forms of the latter. In spite of these changes their basic conception is purely nomadic; *i.e.*, the boxes on the backs of beasts of burden adapted to other

[36] Goetz, Bilderatlas, pl. 39, 53-55, 71, 72, 94, 99, 111; etc.—(See also footnote 24).

[37] Number of Central-Asian furniture types used in the early Mughal Period have been known also in the Far East during the T'ang Dynasty.

possible uses. Their variations, however, are fewer than those of the old Indian furniture of Ancient Eastern origin, as the use of the carpet, which also came from the Central Asian territories of nomadic culture, limited the possibilities of their employments. But even the trunk itself remained in fashion in India only at the time of the most pronounced Central Asian influence under the Emperors Babur, Humayun and Akbar (about 1525-1600).

The carpets,[38] on the other hand, show the marvellous Far Eastern design and the rich, deep colours (dark blue, deep red, gold, etc.), as well as the bands of clouds of the classic Timurid style. At the same time the Central Asian "Jurte"[39] introduced into the Muhammadan countries at the time of the Mongol invasion, reached India and was, till the end of the 16th century, the tent in daily use by the Emperors and nobles. But owing to the warmer climate, the felt was replaced by heavy brocades and an awning was placed over it as a protection from the direct rays of the sun. About the beginning of the 17th century, however, the "Jurte" disappeared although some survivals of it are still obvious in later tent forms.

The style of architecture[40] of this time also bears the stamp of Central Asian construction—buildings made of bricks and panelled with tiles, wooden pillars held by metal rings and fittings, and wooden ceilings—all in a late style, slender and flourishing. The houses are generally ephemerous buildings, of complicated square, hexagonal or octagonal ground-plan with pillar arcades, and roof lanterns in the form of cupolas or small upper stories veiled by the

[38] For Timurid carpets, *cp.* F. R. Martin, Miniature Painting and Painters; Schulz, Persisch-Islamische Miniatur-Malerei, etc.

[39] Babur-Namah; Akbar-Namah, Hamzah-Namah, variis locis: Martin, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 174; Stchoukine, Peinture indienne, pl. 10, etc.

[40] There is very little preserved of early Chagatai architecture in India mostly near Humayun's tomb in Delhi, and also in Agra; we must reconstitute it to from the paintings in the already mentioned manuscripts.

battlements on the cornices. A frieze of faience tiles decorates the foot of the red-brown walls in the famous, extraordinarily rich patterns of the Mongol-Timurid period; the plain surface of the upper walls is interrupted by sparse niches, square or in the form of a pointed arch. The ceilings are often executed in rich, artistic "cassitto" work. Battlements, like those of fortresses, form the upper border of the wall, the roof is flat, only the roof-lanterns are protected by pyramidal roofs of polygonal ground-plan or Central-Asian bulbous cupolas with artistic bronze pinnacle.

It is impossible to pass in review all the small articles, the weapons, the metal and leather vessels of Sassanian and Far Eastern tradition, the porcelain, etc.

The first attempt under Babur and Humayun to conquer Hindustan finally miscarried as the Mughals were not strong enough to hold the vast territory against the combined opposition of the Hindus and of the Indian Muhammadans. After the second conquest in Humayun's last years and during the regency of Bairam Khan, Akbar consolidated the empire by a close alliance with the hitherto oppressed Rajputs, who were now raised above the Pathans to a position of equality with the Mughal nobility. Akbar further encouraged this development in exterior life also by taking over the later Rajput fashion of Timurid origin, with this difference that instead of the Rajput Qaba fastened at the left side he kept the Chagatai Jama fastening at the right side (later also generally called Qaba). His Turkish wives, conservative as women are everywhere, stuck to their national costume, but they soon found themselves outdone by the Indian concubines and numerous Indian servants,[41] who used to wear their Indian or Rajput dress, though enriched by the trousers worn by Muhammadan ladies. Under Jahangir the Rajput pointed

[41] Occasionally Indian women are to be seen on paintings of the time of Humayun; the change at the Mughal court sets in with the capture of the damsels of Baz Bahadur. Since Akbar's reforms Indian female dress has got the lead; Turkish fashion seems to have vanished in the early years of Jahangir.

coats[42] became more frequent at court; instead of shaved chins there came whiskers and cutlets; the turban under the influence of Persia became looser. The Turkish fashion among the women was finally replaced by the later Rajput fashion which probably made its entry from the states of the Western Himalayas during the time when the court was at Lahore.[43] Remains of the Eastern Turkish dress survived only in the uniforms of the female zenana guards and of the personal attendants, even up to the early 19th century; so particularly the high pointed cap, now often worn with a string of pearls round the chin, and almost always without kerchief.[44]

In the more or less ephemerous secular architecture the Timurid component stood its ground longest, and particularly the faience tiling of the walls, a favourite style in Turkestan, began to flourish again for a short period at the beginning of the 17th century. We find proofs of this fact, *e.g.*, in the figure friezes of Lahore Fort.[45] Other characteristic features survived the end of the Akbari style among the Rajputs, especially in the Western Himalayas,[46] as, for instance, the Timurid roof lanterns and the small protective roofs over windows and doors, which remained in favour in the Basohli-Kangra and Chamba —areas up to the present day. The old Indian system of building, however, had become a part of Mughal architecture alongside of the Rajput fashion in dress: walls constructed of pilasters connected by stone-slabs, such

[42] These points were the four corners of a folded cloth with a slit in the middle of the folding, which was fastened to the belt.

[43] During Jahangir's stay at Lahore also the jewellery used in the Western Himalayas became fashion with Mughal ladies.

[44] Cicerone, XV, p. 419 ff., 1923.

[45] *Cp.* also the tiles of Wazir Khan's Mosque at Lahore, and the Chini-ka-Rauzah at Agra.

[46] P. Brown, Indian Painting under the Mughals, pl. 35; Coomaraswamy, Catalogue of Rajput Paintings, Boston, pls. 46, 72, 92-95, 102; Goetz, Bilderatlas, figs. 44, 119; Mehta, Studies in Indian Painting, pl. 58; etc.

as we are already familiar with from the earliest Stupa Railings; low railings and perforated window fillings; pillars combined with that complicated stystem of supports which also Far Eastern architecture had adopted from India. Two Indian architectural features in particular became the most obvious symbols of the art in the reign of Akbar: the projecting roof along the cornices (Chhaya = shadow, or Chhajja = porch, gallery) and the Chhattris (h.; Chatri p.), *i.e.*, small pavilions supported by slim columns. Only much later, in the 18th century, window balconies[47] also came into favour.

At the court and among the leading circles of society the pure Indian furniture, Charpais and Chaukis, wicker chairs (Mora, Pitha), folding chairs and tables, as well as fans of peacock feathers, lotas, etc., came into fashion and were completely assimilated by the Indo-Timurid civilisation. But even during those last years of Akbar we notice among the followers of the future Emperor Jahangir the unbroken predominance of Safavian culture, though in its later form evolved in the reign of Shah 'Abbas the Great. As early as ca. 1600, the orthodox opposition, grouped about Prince Salim, had shown its preference for the Persian fashion[48] of the time. These people introduced the highly developed Persian textile goods of Safavian manufacture into India. These brocades show Chinese cloud and palmleaf motifs and figural scenes: dragon and phoenix, rider and elephant, antelopes, chitas between clouds and stylised trees, etc. It is however, difficult to say whether many of them are not embroideries. Although Jahangir on his accession continued the policy of his father, the Persian trend of fashion continued to predominate through the influence of the Empress Nur-Jahan, a Persian, and her party.

[47] The construction of these window-balconies follows still the tradition of the North Indian temples of the Middle Ages (Khajuraho, etc.).

[48] For excellent examples, *cp.* St. Clarke, Indian Drawings of the School of Jahangir, London, 1926.

A more visible change first took place in the reign of Shahjahan (1628-1659), when the purely Muhammadan policy of the period preceding Akbar's rule was taken up again. This change was facilitated by the reconciliation and intermixture of Mughals and Pathans as well as by the constant admittance of high military officers from the Dekhani kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda, which more and more came under the suzerainty of the Mughal Empire. It is during this reign that Mughal civilisation got its definite shape owing to the further influx of, on the one hand, Persian and, on the other, Indian elements, either from the Deccan or from Gujarat and Bengal. At that time, besides the symmetrically designed garden watered by a canal running in its longitudinal axis, also the garden, laid out on a strictly square ground-plan (Chahar-Bagh)[49] got its definitive shape. This new type is at the base of all the more perfected and refined gardens of the 18th century. Varying in extent and proportions, its principal characteristic is the strictly symmetrical square outlay in which the four streams of water flowing from a central basin divide the garden into four equal parts. One side is occupied by the gate, that at the other end of the canal by the principal summer-house, in front of which there is sometimes a second basin with a cascade. At that time too the Bangaldar roof came into fashion, as also the hand-sewn felt and stuff carpets,[50] the Indianized type of nomadic box furniture with knobs and pillars, the innumerable Safavian imitations of Chinese porcelain, etc.

On the other hand, it is during this reign that we observe the increasing influence of the Deccan, as the shape of the turban gradually begins to resemble that of the South, as the coat fastened down the middle, the vest under the Qaba, and the cloak come more and more in fashion. At the same time

[49] For an example of the reign of Shahjahan, *cf.* Strzygowski, Indische Miniaturen von Schönbrunn, 1923, pl. 17. The chahar-bagh is of Ancient Eastern, probably Babylonian, origin.

[50] Reuther, *op. cit.*

also the flowered Indian style of textiles and the Indo-Muhammadan style of carpet design came more and more into use. Indian conceptions are still more obvious in an ornamental style of gardening which combines the Ancient Eastern traditions of the geometrical charbagh with the pure Indian, less artificial park, with rush huts used as summer-houses, mats as floor coverings, rush awnings as sun-blinds for windows and doors.[51] In architecture we have the Bangaldar roof, the crenelated arch and the vegetative column. In daily life ladies use flag fans (called flabella in the West) and fans made of peacock feathers of ancient Indian, *i.e.*, of Ancient Oriental pattern.[52]

Before this double attack the Timurid-Rajput civilisation of Akbar's time falls to pieces and the Mughal civilisation proper, grown from Central Asian as well as earlier and younger Persian, Rajput, Dakhini-Muhammadan and other Indian, and even some European elements—mostly weapons —becomes the rule, *i.e.*, it takes the place of the other. This new culture under the emperors Jahangir and Shahjahan forced its way in all over the Empire, drove the remains of the preceding tradition down to the lower social classes or destroyed them altogether; and thus it became the civilisation of the Empire, the "Mughal Civilisation."

Ever since the days of Akbar, there was behind all these changes the consciousness of a new epoch. Even the return under Shahjahan to a more pronounced Muhammadan orientation of mind towards all these problems of which we have been speaking, did not weaken this attitude, as the contrast to Persia as well as to Turkestan was already too great.

[51] According to the recent researches of Professor Andrae, Berlin, these rush-awnings, too, are a part of the earliest Babylonian architecture.

[52] The fan made of peacock feathers is to be found already on the reliefs from the palace of Assurbanipal at Ninive.—The pankha = flabellum was used in Babylon under the Cossaean dynasty; it was probably introduced into Europe in connection with the rites of the Christian church; in India it can be seen on the frescoes of Ajanta, *cf.* Griffiths, Ajanta Paintings, I, figs. 34, 44.

Thus all these manifold national and foreign elements of this new culture came under the influence of a new spirit, shaping them all to one pattern, to one characteristic style of life.

The genesis of Indo-Muslim civilization, therefore, can hardly be explained as a simple intermingling of several different civilizations. It was rather a slow substitution of Indian elements of similar type for the original dominating ones of Turko-Muslim origin. These first were selected from the stock of indigenous culture without regard to the Indian tradition, but with regard to their adaptability to the Western models. Or, in other words, this new civilization was a sort of Indian imitation or even falsification of Timurid, Safavian and European models. In the beginning this selection of similar, but not identical elements was very unbalanced, a jumble of types that did not fit together. But then a whole new development set in. As the new style in life and art evolved distinct forms of its own, the elements which could be worked into its organism became more vigorous whereas all those that were as yet unassimilated and could not be assimilated on account of their multifarious, yet sporadic occurrence, disappeared from the life of the ruling classes. And the more the new civilization spread over the whole of the empire, the more the remaining vestiges of earlier traditions disappeared even from provincial usage.

At the Mughal court this phase was attained during the last years of Akbar and the first years of Jahangir. Under Shahjahan and Aurangzib the new imperial civilization had already spread over all the Mughal dominions. In the following century this imperial civilization grew on its own lines of organic evolution, scarcely touched by later foreign influences. The essential features of this evolution were the usual gradual depreciation of all forms which more and more lost their original meaning and an increasing decadence and effeminacy in the style of life. Living forms became degraded to stereotyped cliches and mere ornamental designs, but then were used as elements for the creation of new and more complicated forms.

The classical Mughal civilisation, as it prevailed from the reign of Jahangir even to the last days of the Empire, is thus almost entirely different from that of the 16th century. The creator of the Mughal Empire proper and of the bases of its civilisation is certainly Emperor Akbar, but Jahangir and Shahjahan are the creators of the Mughal civilisation proper. And this latter is at the base of the Indian cultural life of to-day as opposed to that of the Middle Ages.

By what paths were these cultural possessions introduced? We have only very vague traces of the ways and the manner of their migration. Yet we may boldly assert that they are essentially the same as the historical highways from Turkestan and Persia over Kabul to the Punjab and Delhi, from there, on the one hand, down the Ganges, and, on the other, *via* Mālva to Gujarat and Khandesh; then from Persia, Irak, Arabia and Egypt to Sindh and Gujarat; from there again to the North-East, respectively to the South-East over Khandesh to the Muhammadan Dekhani States and to the south of the peninsula. From these highways of Muhammadan power the cultural innovations spread to the adjoining out-of-the-way areas, to the Rajputs, Marathas, etc., and there they were very often preserved for hundreds of years long after they had disappeared from the original centres of Muhammadan culture or after they had in these latter been degraded to the use by the lower classes.

We might say more about the length of time this migration of cultural goods took. The time required for the assimilation of the Central Asian and Near Eastern cultural possessions varies at the utmost between 30 and 200 years, and on the least computation between 50 and 100, but we must take into consideration that the longer periods may sometimes be explained by the fact that the documents for the intervening time may be missing.

But the picture, taken as a whole, which this analysis of the genesis of Indo-Muhammadan civilisation reveals, is characteristic enough for India. It is that of a typical high civilisation situated on the periphery of a continent. Rather

isolated from the sphere of the most intensive cultural interchange in Central Asia and the Near East because of its peculiar geographical position, India has firmly and obstinately preserved types of civilisation which, in the adjoining Western countries, had perished hundreds and even thousands of years ago. This is the case not only for ancient times but even for the present day. For, taken on the whole, all the more recent invasions of foreign peoples and their civilisations have, in spite of their periodical repetition and in spite of their revolutionising effects in details, exercised but a comparatively negligible influence. The reason of this peculiar development is the fact that, when a new wave of foreign conquerors and of new cultural influences invaded the country, the preceding, culture had been more or less assimilated. Each of these invasions has therefore enriched to a certain extent the typological aspect of Indian civilisation and given a new impulse to its development, but has yet changed little of the general character of the whole.

In the same way, therefore, as the modern Indian languages, in spite of numerous foreign words adopted from the Persian, Turkish, Arabic, etc., are a new development out of the debased remains of earlier Prakrit dialects, freed from all irregular forms, so the Mughal civilisation is a new development inaugurated by a strong impulse from the cultures of Central Asia and Persia. Its roots, however, are to be sought in that part of Mediaeval Indian civilisation among the Rajputs and other castes of the North which had preserved its creative autochthonous powers after having shaken off all those vestiges of the classical Gupta tradition which, though carefully treasured, had been misunderstood since the decline of Southern influence in the North of India.

Other books of the author:—

Ernst KUHNEL and Hermann GOETZ, *Indian Book Painting from Jahangir's Album in the State Library in Berlin.* London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1926.

Opinions:—*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, N.S., II, pt. 1, by A. K. COOMARASWAMY, Boston :—" This is the first and so far the only thorough and scientific discussion of Mughal Painting available....."

Rupam, No. 29, 1927, pp. 30 f., by A. N. GANGOLY :—" A valuable document for the study of Moghul Painting."

Hermann GOETZ and Rose ILSE-MUNK, *Gedichte aus der Indischen Liebesmystik des Mittelalters Krishna und Radha* (Mystical love poems from the Hindu Middle-Ages). Leipsic : Asia Major, 1925. Royal 8vo, xxvi and 177 pages, 12 plates (one in color).

Opinion:—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1925, p. 533, by L. D. BARNETT :—" The introduction is thoughtful and interesting."

Hermann GOETZ, *Epochen der Indischan Kultur* (Epochs of Indian Civilisation). Leipsic : K. W. Hiersemann, 1929, Imp. 8vo, 602 pages, 8 maps.

Opinion:—*Rupam*, Calcutta, No. 41, pp. 21 ff., by E.E.S. :—" This book which has taken several years of labour to complete, is written in a simple and pleasing style and forms one of the most readable summaries of Indian history in the fuller sense of the term....."

Hermann GOETZ, *Bilderatlas zur Kulturgeschichte Indiens in der Grossmoghul-Zeit.* Die materielle Kultur des Alltags,

ihre Wurzeln, Wandlungen und Beziehungen zu anderen Völkern, auf Grund der indischen Miniatur-Malerei und anderer Quellen dargestellt. (Pictorial Atlas illustrating the history of Indian Civilisation in the Mughal Period : An account of the material civilisation of everyday life, its origins, development and relations with other cultures, based on Indian miniature paintings and other sources.) Berlin : Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen) A.G., 1930, 4to, viii and 79 pages, 48 plates.

Opinions :—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,* 1930, p. 166, by J. V. S. WILKINSON :—"The *Bilderatlas* is a remarkable achievement though it must be admitted that it is not an easy book to use, as it is written in an extremely concentrated style.....The book must have entailed an enormous amount of painstaking study and tabulation."

Burlington Magazine, Vol. LVIII, No. 336, by J. V. S. WILKINSON :—" The book is a monument of industry and careful observation."

Hermann GOETZ, *Geschichte der indischen Miniaturmalerei* (A History of Indian Miniature Painting). Berlin : W. de Gruyter & Co., 1934, 4to, *iii* and 57 pages, 16 plates.

Opinions :—*Journal of the American Oriental Society,* LIV, 1934, pp. 440 f., by A. K. COOMARASWAMY : " The author has brought together criticisms and appreciations of no less value for the historian of culture than for the student of the history of art."

Asiatic Review, XXXII, No. 109, p. 221 :—" An excellently arranged art-history.....thoroughly parise-worthy enterprise."

III

Proceedings of the Twenty-seventh Indian Science Congress.
Part II.
Issued 14th June, 1940.

TWENTY-SEVENTH INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

MADRAS, 1940

ROYAL LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Section of Anthropology

SCOPE OF PREHISTORIC AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL WORK IN INDIA

Plate 3

With compliments from the Director General of Archaeology

RAO BAHADUR K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A., F.R.A.S.B.

-

1 .

1 1 . -/5

5 1 /1

SECTION OF ANTHROPOLOGY

President:—Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., F.R.A.S.B.

Presidential Address

(Delivered on Jan. 5, 1940)

SCOPE OF PREHISTORIC AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL WORK IN INDIA

This is the first time that an archæologist without any claim of having worked in any branch of Anthropology proper has been selected to preside over the section of Anthropology. The connection of archæology with anthropology, is, however more intimate than one would infer from the comparative want of contact which has hitherto prevailed. Both archæology and anthropology are among the latest of sciences and the former is sometimes even denied the privilege of being one. If anthropology is that branch of science which is concerned with man and includes a special study of man's evolution, archæology which concerns itself with the efforts of man and seeks to investigate the past civilizations as exemplified by the handiwork and relics of man must be regarded as an important science included within the wider discipline of anthropology.

The width of anthropological studies which embrace all knowledge of man from the most ancient to the most modern times is an advantage which, however, has its counterbalancing disadvantages. Archæology with its scope restricted to the study of ancient human cultures has naturally attracted a larger number of votaries. It is to be devoutly hoped that the association between anthropology and archæology, which has been exemplified in this session of the Indian Science Congress, will be a more abiding one and will react to the mutual advantage of both the sciences. Without archæology, anthropology may be restricted to the recording of measurements of races and people and observations concerning the social institutions of primitive tribes. Without the aid of anthropology in coming to exact conclusions on the basis of craniometry and somatology, archæology may have no means of determining the racial complex of the civilizations unearthed by diggings. It is to be hoped that all Universities and research institutions, which have provided facilities for work in one, will always extend them to the other branch of these humanistic studies. The need for early organization of the work in both is obvious and based on similar grounds. In this vast country there is unlimited scope for the development of these studies, and the danger from the extension

of cultivation and rural expansion in a more sophisticated mode of life is felt equally by the anthropologist as by the archæologist. Ancient ruins are easily destroyed where the necessity of cultivation demands the demolition or levelling down of eminences, sometimes for the purposes of manure as in the North-West Frontier Province or for more cultivable land as in the irrigated tracts of Sind. The archæologist must study and excavate before these vestiges disappear altogether. On the other hand, the student of primitive tribes unaffected by modern civilization will find it difficult to obtain material for his study when the entire people are rapidly giving up the old ways of living. The facility of modern travel and emigration will, I presume, make it impossible for the future anthropologist to find out in parts of Assam the somatic features of the different races which will have rapidly fused into one another by then. It is, therefore, all the more necessary that the future research programme should be speeded up and properly co-ordinated.

So far as expenditure is concerned archæology looms somewhat large among the scientific departments of the Government of India, but unfortunately an infinitesimal amount is available for expenditure on work of a scientific character. The personnel ought to be considerably strengthened particularly with a view to the extension of the scientific activities in prehistoric archæology and anthropology. In the Museums of this country archæology appropriates a preponderating share as found by the Markham-Hargreaves Committee in their survey of Indian Museums. Many of these institutions, which are under various provincial, State and local authorities, are doing good work in the educational sphere, but there is hardly any scope for the acquisition of scientific knowledge regarding man and very few research facilities. Among the research institutions and learned societies there are many which devote themselves to different branches of human history, but archæology as a science has yet scarcely made its appearance, apart from other well-known branches such as epigraphy, numismatics, philology and fine arts. Having been regarded as a mere branch of history, viz., ancient history, archæology has ranged itself more with the arts than with science in this country. In so far, however, as definite rules govern its conclusions, archæology cannot be denied a regular place among the sciences and it is but one step from the scientific study of fossilized remains of animals to that of skeletons of prehistoric and later man. The study of geological strata has actually led to that of the cultural relics found in regular layers in course of excavation. As in other humanistic sciences, however, much of archæological knowledge is gained by inductive processes of reasoning, which are always liable to be modified in the light of fresh examples and further experience and cannot be expected to conform to the inflexible laws of mathematical or natural sciences.

In his report to Government after his recent visit to this country Sir Leonard Woolley, the distinguished archæologist, has drawn attention to the want of sufficient contact between the Archæological Department and the anthropologists. He has suggested an interesting possibility, viz., that of unravelling the problems of the past by significant survivals among the existing peoples. For example, he thinks that more light may be thrown on the problem of the ancient burial customs in South India by the survivals among backward tribes than by direct archæological evidence. This may be a somewhat distant hope, but I believe that the movements and settlements of the people associated with the customs of megalithic cist burials can be distinctly followed by an intensive study of the burials in the Madras, Mysore and Hyderabad regions. Thus, if in one area simple one-compartment tombs are common, in another there are two compartments while in a third type we find a horizontal as well as a vertical division. The direction in which the cists open is generally the East, but examples opening on to the west have also been found in the Pudukkottai State. Systematic study may yield material which will enable scholars to fix the direction of the migration and evolution of megalithic cultures.

Sir Leonard actually proposes that the archæological survey should remain in close and constant touch with any anthropological work in progress and should encourage the workers in that field to seek for evidence co-relating the results of these two branches of science. In his opinion, which may well be endorsed by other workers, a common plan would result in a more intelligent collection of anthropological material, and he believes that the task of the archæologists would be made simpler if the Museums of India were to collect and preserve, not only ancient pottery and handiwork but that produced up to the present day by the primitive peoples of India. The idea of having a central Ethnological Museum at New Delhi was started when the capital was being built, but unfortunately the fundamental unity between an anthropological and archæological standpoint in such a project was not then visualized and it was eventually dropped, so that Delhi is still without either an ethnological, anthropological or archæological Central Museum. The two existing archæological collections are centred round the material from Central Asia brought back by Sir Aurel Stein and that relating to the period of Muslim sovereignty at Delhi respectively.

The study of fossil man which ushers in the science of anthropology is connected with other branches of knowledge such as geology and biology. When further links in the chain between fully developed man and the primates have been unravelled, they will be found to have occupied a much longer space of time than is taken by all the subsequent stages through

which man has passed. This branch of knowledge has unfortunately not yet been seriously taken up by Indian scientists. India is, as yet, unable to record any discovery similar in importance to the Rhodesian man or Peking man.

Coming to the field of prehistoric archæology, we find a great deal of work done for over 75 years in the collection and interpretation of stone age, megalithic and metal cultures. The pioneers in this field were the geologists, among whom Bruce Foote may be regarded as the father of Indian Prehistory. In his work entitled 'The Indian Pre-Historic and Proto-Historic Antiquities' are found the most extensive notes about the nature and geographical distribution of stone artifacts. It is over 70 years ago that the first human artifacts connected with the bones of extinct mammals were found in the cliffs of the Narbada and the Godavari. It is unfortunate that further investigations were not carried in the same field in the light of new discoveries in every part of the world. River beds not only of the Narbada, Godavari and their tributaries but also all other big ocean-going rivers such as the Mahanadi and Tapti, the Krishna and Cauvery, not to speak of innumerable rivers and streams of the Madras Presidency, are known to be teeming with such material. The very important results concerning the sequence of palæolithic and neolithic cultures established by Foote after examining the sections of the bed of the Sabarmati in Gujarat ought to be repeated in other river beds as well, and the existence or otherwise of the hiatus between the upper palæolithic and neolithic ages confirmed or modified. What is required is that the attention of the Government and the Universities should be drawn towards the necessity of the systematic conduct of such work under trained prehistorians. There is urgent need for concerted plans of co-operation not only between the scientific departments of Government and the cultural departments of the Universities but also between the Museums, most of which are under the Provincial Governments and Indian States. Endowments should be available in the more advanced Universities for carrying on field work in these branches, where it is seriously belated. Important investigations were carried on recently over a large part of India by an advanced student of prehistory sent as Travelling Fellow by the Harvard University and his collections have benefited Indian Museums as well as enriched the Peabody Museum in America. Such an example may well stimulate Indian Universities and philanthropists.

The first attempt at systematic survey to find out the sequence and co-relation of the stone age cultures was made during recent years by the Yale-Cambridge Expedition led by Dr. De terra, who made a systematic survey of the Sohan (Soan) valley in the North Punjab and of the valley of Kashmir. The importance of this work, which, for the first time, proved the existence of a palæolithic culture in the region between the

Indus and Jhelum and brought it into relation with the various ice ages of Kashmir cannot be over-estimated. It is unfortunate that after the first season's work in 1936 the expedition has been unable to return to the scene of their labours and continue their work in North and South India as they expected to do. What is of special importance to the study of Indian palæoliths is the application of the stratigraphic principle to the finds of palæolithic implements which almost without exception being surface finds do not lend themselves to any but typological arrangement and very much need such evidence as has enabled scholars in Europe to determine the 6 to 7 stages of palæolithic culture there. The adoption of the same nomenclature such as 'Chellean', 'Acheulian', 'Mousterian' and 'Aurignacean' for Indian implements without a reasoned basis cannot carry conviction until with more systematic work directed in this line the sequence of Indian stone implements is established beyond doubt.

The most interesting and well-developed phase of the prehistoric civilization of India undoubtedly is that represented by Harappa and Mohenjodaro. It is the work in this field within a space of 7 or 8 years which stands as a record in Indian archæology. With the publication of the Monograph on Harappa by Mr. M. S. Vats which is expected within a few months all the original material brought to light by Indian archæology will have been exhaustively dealt with from the archæological point of view. Much has been written about the character, age and makers of that civilization but as is usual with new discoveries, as many fresh problems have been raised as have been settled by now. It is unfortunate that there is no prospect of further work in this field with a view to extend our knowledge of the scope of the civilization or to discover its earlier or later stages or links with later cultures. During the last two years it has been possible to carry on further work on a small scale in the cemetery at Harappa. This has brought forward fresh skeletal material which may throw some further light on the racial characteristics of the Indus people. It is necessary that further systematic work is carried out in connection with the important discoveries made by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar, particularly at the site of Damb-buthi where animal and human bones were discovered in association with painted pottery of an earlier type than Mohenjodaro. This work is likely to be rewarded with rich results in unravelling an earlier phase of culture than Mohenjodaro. The bridging of the great gap that separates the Indus civilization from the rest of the culture sequences in India is a work in which many archæologists of the type of the late Mr. Majumdar will have to engage themselves for generations. Unfortunately the unstable conditions in the North-West of India and the want of facilities for continuing such work may prevent, for some time to come, the possibility of such excellent

field work in the execution of which the brilliant scholar lost his life. There seems little chance in the near future of any European or American expeditions of the type of the American expedition of 1935-36, which worked for a season at Chanhudaro with creditable results. It must be realized that the appeal of the Bible Lands is still too powerful to allow attention to be diverted from the near East, and India must, for years to come, fall back on its indigenous resources and talent to carry on work in the limitless field on its soil.

The problem of the Aryan immigration into the Punjab has yet received no light from the excavations in Sind and the Punjab and it is yet a moot point what the material culture and racial characteristics of the dwellers of the upper Indus and Gangetic plains were in the second and first half of the first millennium before Christ. Unceasing endeavour on the part of Indian archæologists and anthropologists is needed before any material can be obtained for filling these important gaps in our knowledge.

A proper study of the sequence of metallurgical knowledge in India has to be established, and there is ample scope of work in this interesting line of research. The existence of a copper age in the Gangetic Valley has been assumed from the discovery of various implements, such as celts, harpoons, chisels, along with cult objects. This was supposed to have supervened on a neolithic culture, but since the discovery of the Indus Valley civilization it is believed to have followed rather than preceded the latter. It was long believed that the knowledge of bronze in the Sumerian civilization followed some time after that of copper, and the rich tin mines of Khorasan in Eastern Iran were supposed to have brought the necessary hardening component. In Mohenjodaro, however, the analysis of the specimens of copper has brought to light the fact that bronze [1] was equally well known in the epoch of the Indus civilization, along with other metals, such as gold, silver and lead except, of course, iron. The finds in the Gangetic Valley, however, consisting almost entirely of pure copper, prove that the sequence is not necessarily in favour of bronze as a later arrival. More light on this is likely to be thrown by further investigation in other areas, such as Chota Nagpur and Jaipur State, particularly in the vicinity of the sites of ancient copper mines. It is unfortunate that in spite of so many isolated finds of copper implements in the Gangetic Valley no large site yielding them along with other cultural remains has yet been discovered. It is probable that the lower strata in some of our great historical town sites may yield material which will throw light on the early civilization of the 2nd or 1st

[1] An interesting fact noticed by Khan Bahadur Mohd. Sana Ullah, the Archæological Chemist in India, is the high percentage of arsenic in many of the Indian bronzes in place of tin. This may be due to the difference in the ore available to the Indus metallurgists.

half of the 1st millennium B.C. In this respect the sites of the dry belt of North-Western India in which Sind and the Punjab is included show a striking and agreeable contrast with those in the Gangetic Valley in which the continuous occupation since the earliest times makes it necessary to remove some 20 feet of accretions before coming to the earlier levels. The so-called 'Asura' sites in Chota Nagpur with their large quantities of copper provide another area in which systematic work may yield more clues to the existence of copper age man.

In the South the change from stone to metal did not comprise any stage of the knowledge of copper preceding that of iron. Except for the few copper objects recovered from the great prehistoric site of Adichanallur in Tinnevelly District, no other prehistoric or protohistoric finds of this metal have been recorded in South India. The great advantage offered by the open country and by the climate particularly suitable for primitive life made the Peninsula an ideal habitat for early man, and it appears that this environment made him less prone to effect any such drastic change in his mode of life as is involved in the substitution of metal for stone implements. The remoteness of South India from any considerable sources of copper may account for the long persistence of stone implements for centuries after the Indus Valley had attained mastery over copper. On the other hand, the abundance of stones rich in iron ensured that once the difficult process of extracting iron from the ore had been discovered it would obtain a secure foothold throughout South India. Some scholars are of opinion that the so-called cinder mounds of the Bellary District, an outstanding example of which is the large mound at Kudatini, represent the first large-scale attempts to extract iron made by man in India or perhaps in the world. Here a recent cutting made for the sake of improving the road has exposed regular layers of charcoal alternating with slag, which together with the heavy stones containing a large proportion of iron found in the vicinity leave no doubt about the vast scale on which this primitive furnace was worked. In the absence of any real chronological data it is difficult to prove how far the priority of the Bellary exercises in metallurgy to similar attempts elsewhere in the world can be demonstrated. Further research alone will show what the exact relation between the stone and metal ages of North and South India must have been.

As regards megalithic monuments, it has been observed that most of them are prevalent in such parts of the country which are inhabited at present by primitive tribes, although their distribution is somewhat wider. Thus Assam contains a number of large stones called U Mawtho Dur in the Khasi hills and along the foot of the Naga hills at Dimapur and Kasomari Pathar are a number of 'Chessman' and Buffalo-horn pillars, which have been interpreted variously as memorials of

large-scale sacrificial rites, triumphal records or cult objects. Megalithic groups in the Kachari hills are in places actually in danger of being destroyed by the zeal of neophytes who have strayed away from the tribal folds and the Archæological Department has had to intervene in such cases in the interest of their preservation. From Chota Nagpur and the Mirzapur hills these monuments extend continuously along the Eastern Ghats to the southernmost end of the Peninsula and all over the plateau and the Malabar coast. They also occur in many places in Central India and the Central Provinces, and one group noticed so far north-west as at Deosa in the Jaipur State by Carlleyle has not so far received the attention it deserved. Most of these are connected with burial practices and many have yielded pottery and iron implements. Work in these has to be conducted with special care so that nothing is destroyed and no evidence is unrecorded. Unfortunately many investigators have entered on their work more with motives of curiosity than strictly scientific considerations, and their finds have consequently lost their entire value. One cannot over-emphasize the need of precaution when such irreplaceable evidence is concerned.

Coming to South India, we find that the scope for work in the Peninsula is much greater owing to the abundance of material for the manufacture of tools suitable for palæolithic and neolithic man. In every district of the Madras Presidency, practically throughout the eastern and southern parts of Hyderabad State, in the States of Mysore, Travancore, Cochin and Pudukkotai, one or the other phase of prehistory or protohistory is present in numerous examples which must be very systematically studied before many of them meet their destruction at the hand of man, with the growth of cultivation and the extension of rural industries. Although work has been done at intervals in different areas by different scholars, careful records in the form of a classified corpus of all palæolithic and neolithic finds, the megalithic monuments and necropolitan deposits are needed. Apart from the work done at the Billa Surgam caves in the Karnul District no attempt has been made during the last 40 years to investigate and explore rock shelters with deposits of animal bones and primitive stone implements. It has recently been found that the Billa Surgam caves do not offer much further scope for extended operations, but it is beyond doubt that many other shelters will reward the research of systematic investigators. One circumstance which gives hope of fruitful results in such endeavours is the fact that in the selection of rock shelters primitive man exercised such a judicious choice that the same areas continued to afford a habitat to his remote descendents of the historic periods. Thus the area covering South Hyderabad, North Mysore and the north-west part of the Madras Presidency shows an abundance not only of rock shelters and palæolithic and neolithic implements but also various phases

of early historical cultures. In the vicinity of the well-known site of Asoka's rock inscription at Brahmagiri, Chitaldrug District, Mysore, are found painted potteryware and stone implements in the lower strata of the trenches, as also at the site of Chandravalli in the same district where the surface remains are ranged from the 4th century A.D. to the 12th century A.D. There are a number of rock shelters in both these localities. Neolithic axes have been found in the lower levels of the trenches at the site of Maski in the Raichur District, the provenance of the well-known inscription which exclusively mentions the name of Asoka. Excavations conducted lately by the Hyderabad Archæological Department have brought to light numerous relics of different ages including stone implements and painted pottery. From Yerragudi hill where the latest find of Asoka's rock edicts was reported some 10 years ago, Bruce Foote found a celt and mealing stones under a rock shelter. The continuance and advanced study of this material in South India is fraught with results of the greatest importance to the study of Indian prehistory, particularly in forging links between the historical and prehistoric aspects. In Northern India such possibilities of supplying the essential material for throwing light on the obscure and long intervals between these epochs of human progress exist in places like Bairat in Jaipur State, where relics of the Mauryan period have been found, along with microliths. It is hoped that the Government of India will at an early date find it possible to implement the recommendation of Sir Leonard Woolley that two Protohistorians, one for work in the North and another in the South, be appointed at once, so that they may tackle the problems connected with prehistory, which have been neglected so long.

The fascinating study of rock paintings and carvings in rock shelters is a line of investigation which has not been taken up seriously. The areas, where these are localized, are mostly restricted to the Vindhyan and Kaimur ranges and the largest number are found in the southern part of the Mirzapur District of theUnited Provinces, the Pachmarhi hills and Hoshangabad in the Central Provinces. Besides these, isolated finds are recorded such as those at Singhanpur in the Raigarh State of the Eastern States Agency, the Attock District of the Punjab, the Edakal caves in Malabar, the peacock hill at Kuppagallu in Bellary and the paintings in Jamkhandi State in the south Bombay Deccan, recently discovered in course of an epigraphical survey. There must be a large number of other unexplored examples in the hill regions of Central India and the Eastern States as also in the hilly regions of the Madras Presidency. The situation of some of the Mirzapur rock paintings at places of great natural beauty by the side of perennial streams betokens a somewhat advanced cultural stage. Scenes of hunting of elephants and horses—particularly the latter—show

that a later date than the Indus civilization is indicated, but unless a systematic exploration is carried out in these caves and shelters and the types of implements and bones, etc. subjected to an exhaustive study, it would be difficult to assign them to any particular date. In any case it is clear that the large majority of these hematite paintings are the relics of streams of culture quite distinct and dissociated from the developed civilization of the Indus Valley. The earliest historical paintings are those assigned to an early Christian era date found in the caves at Ramgarh in the Sirguja State, which belongs to the same geographical area of the Vindhya-Kaimur plateau. It is very likely that a more persistent investigation will be rewarded by the discovery of further links between the remote rock drawings and paintings and those that came in vogue with the historical period culminating in the splendour of Ajanta and Bagh.

One of the greatest difficulties facing the physical anthropologist in India is that of obtaining material for determining the racial characteristics of the ancient people of this country. Although archæological excavations have been continued in India for the last 35 years, it was only at the prehistoric sites at Harappa, Nal and Mohenjodaro and Adichanallur that skeletal material has been made available for systematic study. The prevalence of cremation as the most important method of disposal of the dead may possibly be responsible for the paucity of this material for the historical period. The discovery of a large number of skeletons in course of the excavations at Ujjain conducted by the Director of Archæology, Gwalior State, during the last season has for the first time given some material for craniometry and osteometry of the people inhabiting Central India about 2,000 years ago, which, it is hoped, will yield important results at the hands of Dr. Guha and his associates. The dearth of properly qualified students in this highly interesting branch of knowledge is very keenly felt, and unless some University Fellowships or Government appointments such as that of a Physical Anthropologist on the regular staff of the Archæological Survey, as proposed by Sir Leonard Woolley in his report, are available for workers in this field, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to cope with the material that has already been found and may be brought to light in future. The proper treatment, preservation and interpretation of this material is an urgent matter and unless India awakens to its duty, such work is likely to be retarded and the material lost sight of altogether. The attention of research workers in anatomy and physiology in India has not yet been drawn to this branch and Indian anthropology badly needs the services of an Elliot Smith.

In the field of anthropometry considerable work has been done by research workers in the various provinces and among the different castes and tribes. All the same, it is perhaps no exaggeration to say that barely the fringe of the problem has

been touched, and a very small portion even of special ethnic groups has been systematically measured. The conclusions arrived at after an examination of a small group are always tentative and are likely to be profoundly modified by large scale measurements. The most intensive survey yet undertaken in any part of India is, according to Dr. Guha, Bowle's survey of the sub-Himalayan region, and this pertains to 6,305 persons. In a country inhabited by nearly 400 millions consisting of every variety of racial groups it will be apparent how inadequate the present efforts are likely to be. Perhaps the only way in which some large-scale anthropometric work can be undertaken would be to make it part of the work in connection with the Census operations. It would obviously require an army of trained workers in the different areas in each province which may be especially selected for intensive work. It is up to the authorities to consider any such systematic proposals emanating from this assemblage of scientists and for the latter to organize workers for the task. Anthropological training deserves to be imparted on a large scale and all Universities and learned societies and associations in the provinces such as the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Assam Research Society, the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, United Provinces Historical Society, Punjab Historical Society, Andhra Historical Research Society, Mahakosala Research Society, Gujarat Research Society, Karnatic Research Society, Sind Historical Society, etc. etc. should take their legitimate share in such activities. The Provincial Museums should also co-operate in the work and preserve the records of anthropological and ethnographic work.

For an anthropologist there can be no more interesting country than India to study, although he would probably be overwhelmed by the immensity of the task and the diversity of the material before him. From the most ancient times this land has always attracted immigrants and the history records the arrival and settlement of different races and people throughout the country at every age. Some evidence of migration from the country particularly to the East and South-East is undoubtedly available, but the assimilation of different immigrant elements in the country has always been on a far greater scale than the tendency of extra-territorial expansion. Even if a particular part of India be selected for study one will find therein historical evidence of the immigration of a number of people. An idea of this is obtained by the following enumeration of the ancient immigrants in the province of Gujarat made by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, the distinguished archæologist of Western India (the centenary of whose birth has been recently celebrated), in his Early History of Gujarat:

'By sea probably came some of the half mythic Yadavas (B.C. 1500–500), contingents of Yavanas (B.C. 300–A.D. 100) including Greeks,

Bactrians, Parthians and Scythians; the pursued Parsis and pursuing Arabs (A.D. 600–800); hordes of Sanganian pirates (A.D. 900–1200); Parsi and Nawayat Musulman refugees from Khulagu Khan's devastation of Persia (A.D. 1250–1300); Portuguese and rival Turks (A.D. 1500–1600); Arabs and Persian Gulf pirates (A.D. 1600–1700); African Arab, Persian and Makian soldiers of fortune (A.D. 1600–1800); Armenian, Dutch and French traders (A.D. 1600–1750) and the British after A.D. 1750.

'By land from the north have come the Scythians and Huns (B.C. 200–A.D. 500); the Gurjaras (A.D. 400–600); the early Jadejas and Kathis (A.D. 750–900); wave upon wave of Afghan, Turk, Mughal and other northern Musulmans (A.D. 1000–1500); and the later Jadejas and Kathis (A.D. 1300–1500).

'From the north-east, the prehistoric Aryans and their descendants till almost modern times (A.D. 1100–1200) continued to send settlements of Northern Brahmans and since the 13th century have come Turks, Afghans and Mughuls.

'From the east have come the Mauryans B.C. 300; the half Scythian Kshatrapas (B.C. 100-300 A.D.), the Guptas A.D. 320; the Gurjaras A.D. 400–600; the Mughals A.D. 1530; the Marathas A.D. 1660–1760; and the British A.D. 1780.'

Similar would be found to be the case with almost every other part of India, such as the Punjab, Sind, Maharashtra, Malabar or Assam. Such a variety of composition in a population would hardly have been found conducive of any analysis after centuries of fusion but in India the system of endogamy has been operative for a considerable time and different ethnic groups can keep their individuality for a surprisingly long period.

One great field of research which yet remains to be done concerns the collection of anthropological material from the ancient records dealt with by Indian epigraphists. Apart from throwing light on ancient customs and manners about which a fund of information can be obtained, the migration and settlement of different castes and tribes in ancient times is well worth scientific study. Taking the Brahmans only, one can study from the stone inscriptions and copper-plates how the Brahmans professing a certain branch of a particular Veda migrated from place to place and from century to century. Popular notions based on incorrect traditions are sometimes entirely falsified in the light of discoveries of ancient records. Thus, while it is customary in Bengal to believe that owing to the entire absence of Brahmans in that part of the country king Ādiśura or Ballala Sen had to import Brahmans from the Middle country, a volume of evidence is now available showing that good Brahmans engaged in their traditional mode of sacrifices inhabited many villages in different parts of Bengal. Copper-plate grants brought to light in Central India have shown that the well-known Paramara king Munja in the 11th century A.D. attracted Brahmans from the United Provinces, Bihar, Bengal, Assam, Gujarat, etc. belonging to the different branches of the three Vedas. An inscription of the 5th century records the migration of a community of silk weavers from Lata (southern Gujarat) to Malwa 'attracted by the merits of the country and the ruler'. The

migration of the different religious cults is another line of profitable study offered by the ancient records. The origin and spread of the different schools of cult worship is a fascinating line of work. In fact, cultural anthropology can develop endless themes in the hands of those studying the vast archæological material that has been brought to light.

In conclusion, may I reiterate my appeal to all those who have the advancement of learning and science at heart and who are anxious that India should hold her own in every branch of science among the comity of the nations of the earth to turn their attention to these long neglected studies? The most appropriate study for man is man himself and when in India every stage of the entire progress of the human race from the humblest beginnings to the greatest spiritual elevation can be studied with greater ease and facility than in any other country, is it too much to expect that the proud possessors of this wonderful heritage will not neglect their patrimony and not leave entirely to others the task of studying themselves, their racial composition and age-long cultures? The Universities, the enlightened patrons of science and the custodians of the public purse will not, I hope, turn a deaf ear to the claims that I have endeavoured to formulate on behalf of the science of man.

MAY 6 1940

Pkt. 4

Reprint from the Annals of the

BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Vol. XX, Pages 69-96, 109-144, 213-234

1940

Dr. Mrs. Irawati Karve,

M. A., Ph. D.

+ IV

With the compliments of the Author

For favour of review.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND KINSHIP USAGES IN RGVEDA AND ATHARVAVEDA

BY

IRAWATI KARVE

This paper is the first part of an investigation undertaken since last year. It is proposed to investigate "the kinship terminology and kinship usages in ancient and modern India". The university of Bombay gave me last year (July 1938 to June 1939) a grant of Rs. 300 for this work and it has enabled me to finish this paper.

The subject has been studied by Sanskritists, but their interest was mainly philological. This paper is written with a view to ascertain the family institutions of the vedic people and to find out how far they have been preserved in modern India.[1]

The first part deals with the terminology, the second with the usages. The second part is based on the first, but wherever there are gaps in the information found in the first, I have tried, I think legitimately, to fill them from later sources. The second part will form an interpretation of the data gathered together in the first.

I have to thank the University of Bombay for their research grant. I have further to thank Prof. G. S. Ghurye of the School of Sociology of the University of Bombay for reading the paper, discussing it and making very valuable suggestions. I am also indebted to Prof. R. N. Dandekar for his many suggestions in the first part of this paper.

Part I

Kinship terminology

1. *Terms for the first ascendant generation and generations beyond.*

(a) Male :—

[1] B. Delbrück wrote an extensive paper on this theme in Abh. König. Säch. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. 1889. Unfortunately I have been unable to procure it, though I read a short summary of it in Ceylon Journal of Science, 1928, Vol. I, part IV, p. 179.

पितृ, जनितृ, तत, पितुष्पिता, पितामह, तातामह, प्रपितामह, प्रतातामह.

The word *pitṛ* in singular means father, thus.

स नः पितेव सूनवे अग्ने सूपायनो भव । Ṛv. 1. 1. 9

(Agni, be to us of easy access even as a father to a son).

The word seems to have been used in a classificatory sense, and to have been applied to the father, father's brothers, father's cousins etc. There are certain devices used in order to distinguish the own father from these other fathers. The word *janitṛ* (जनितृ) is used adjectivally to qualify the word *pitṛ* and give it the definite connotation of " own father "

कियत्स्विदिन्द्रो अध्येति मातुः कियत् पितुः जनितुर्यो जजान Ṛv. 4. 17. 12

(How much doth Indra care for his mother ? How much for his father who begat him ? for his own father ?).

In a hymn to Viśvakarman the following verse is found.

यो नः पिता जनिता यो विधाता धामानि वेद भुवनानि विश्वा । Ṛv. 10.82.3

(He who is our begetter father, who, as Disposer, knoweth all homes and all beings).

In the following example the Heaven is called the own father and a *nābhi* while the Mother Earth is called *bandhu*.

द्यौर्मे पिता जनिता नाभिरत्र बन्धुर्मे माता पृथिवी महीयम् । 1.164.33

(Heaven is my own father and Nābhi, this great Earth is my Mother and Bandhu). [for *Nābhi* and *Bandhu* cf. further under " general relationship terms "].

Another device to distinguish the own from other fathers or " status " fathers is to use the word *pitṛ* in the superlative degree.

सखा पिता पितृतमः पितॄणां कर्तेमु लोकं उशते वयोधाः । Ṛv. 4.17.17

(Friend, among all fathers the most fatherly father, (you) give the suppliant vital strength and freedom).

All gods are fathers but Indra is the " father most "—*pitṛtama* i. e. among those called fathers the one who performs the *functions* of the real father.

pitṛtamaḥ pitā was in all probability also the *janitā pitā*.

The word *janitṛ* (जनितृ) is used for " father " in both the Vedas, while in the Atharvaveda is found at two places the word

तत (*tata*). In later classical Sanskrit the word *tata* becomes *tāta* (तात) and is quite well known.[1]

गर्भे नु नौ जनिता दम्पती कर् देवः त्वष्टा सविता विश्वरूपः ।

Ṛv. 18.10.5; Av. 18.1.5

(Verily, the generator (father) made us two in the womb man and spouse—god Tvaṣṭar, Savitar of all forms).

पितरः परे ते मा अवन्तु । तता अवरे ते मा अवन्तु । Av. 5.24.16 and 17

(The upper Fathers—let them favour us. The lower Fathers—let them favour us).

The word *pitṛ* and *tata* are used here to denote the departed ancestors.

एतत्ते तत स्वधा । Av. 18.4.77

(Here *Svadhā* to you O! father).

As the word *pitṛ* was used in a classificatory sense, no separate word is found for uncle[2] either in Ṛgveda or in Atharvaveda.

The word *pitṛ* used in dual means both the parents. This usage is quite common also to later Sanskrit literature.

युवाना पितरा पुनः सत्यमन्त्रा ऋजूयवः । ऋभवो विष्टचक्रत । Ṛv. 1.20.4

(The Ṛbhus, with effectual prayers, honest, with constant labour made their parents young again.[3])

---

[1] The feminine form of this Indogermanic word is "Teta" in Russian, Tate in old German and "Tante" in modern German. The Marathi word Āte or Ātyā (आते, आत्या), which, just like the Russian and German words, means "father's sister," seems to belong to the same root.

[2] In modern dialects there is no independent word for "father's brother". The words denoting paternal uncle are always derived from the word for father. The same is the case with Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī. Thus in Pāli "Culla-tāta" (चुल्लतात = Sans. क्षुल्लतात) means "Uncle, small father". In Ardhamāgadhī "Culla-Piua" (चुल्लपिउअ = क्षुल्लपितृक) = small father i. e. uncle. "Culla-māu or culla-māuyā" [चुल्लमाउ or चुल्लमाउया = क्षुल्लमातृका] means step mother. In Marathi the word (चुलता) has the same derivation. In Maratha country the younger uncle is called "Dhākalā Bāvā (धाकला बाबा) i.e. younger father" and the elder uncle Thoralā Bāvā (थोरला बाबा) i. e. elder father.

[3] The word Mantra is Satya-mantra above seems to be used in the sense of magical incantation rather than that of prayer. Satya-mantras (सत्यमन्त्र) are those whose incantations are true i. e. effective. The activities of Ṛbhus as described in Ṛgveda, all seem to be of a magical nature, and their quarrel with Tvaṣṭṛ seems to be a quarrel between two rival schools of magicians. In modern dialect Mantra has come to mean exclusively "magical incantations".

In Rgveda no independent terms are found for the generations beyond the first ascendant male. The term *pitṛ* is qualified by adjectives like *pratna* (प्रत्न = ancient), *mahat* (महत् = big or great) or *bṛhat* (बृहत् = great) to denote an ancestor. Different gods conceived as ancestors are called by such phrases. In later mythology the creator definitely receives the appellation *pitāmaha* (grand-father) which is implied in the following examples.

कृष्णां यदेनीं अभि वर्पसा भूत् जनयन् योषा बृहतः पितुः जाम । Rv. 10.3.2

(Having overcome the glimmering black with beauty and giving birth to the young woman the *Great Sire's* Daughter).

पितुः प्रत्नस्य जन्मना वदामसि सोमस्य जिह्वा प्रजिगाति चक्षसा । Rv. 1.87.5

(We speak by our descent from one ancient father, our tongue stirs itself when we behold Soma).

महे पित्रे ददाथ स्वं नपातम् । Rv. 6.20.11

Thou gavest to the *Great Sire* his child (grandchild ?).

यज्जायथाः तदहरस्य कामेऽशोः पीयूषमपिबो गिरिष्ठाम् ।

तं ते माता परि योषा जनित्री महः पितुर्दम आसिञ्चदग्रे ॥ Rv. 3.48.2

(That day when thou wast born, wishing to taste it, drankest the plant's milk growing on the mountains, that milk thy own young mother poured for thee first in thy *great father's* dwelling).

सना पुराणमध्येमि आरात् महः पितुः जनितुः जामि तन्नः । Rv. 3.54.9

(From far away and from of old (sanā) I ponder, our kinship with our *great sire* and begetter (the later Prajāpati of Atharvaveda ?)).

The expression *pituṣpitā* (पितुष्पिता) is also used in both the Vedas. It does not however mean "father's father" or "grandfather" but seems to be applied even to more remote ancestors. It seems to be used as a synonym for *mahāpitā* etc. and means "an anscestor" in general.

ये नः पितुः पितरः ये पितामहा ये आविविशुरुर्वन्तरिक्षम् ।

ये आक्षियन्ति पृथिवीमुत द्यां तेभ्यः पितृभ्यो नमसा विधेम ॥ Av. 18. 2.49

(They that are our father's fathers, that are our grandfathers,

that entered the wide atmosphere, they that dwell on earth and heaven to those fathers we pay homage).

In this passage the words *pituspitar, pitāmaha* and *pitar* are used synonymously to denote ancestors.

गर्भे मातुः पितुष्पिता विदिद्युतानो अक्षरे । सीदन् ऋतस्य योनिम् आ । Rv.6.16.35

(Father's father (the ancient god), shining in the ever-lasting womb of the mother, sitting on the seat of truth).

In Atharvaveda and Rgveda the words *ptuspitā* (पितुष्पिता) are also used in a sense different to that discussed just now. It occurs in passages where something difficult to know is set forth and the passages end with the expression " he who knows this is *pituspitā.* " It seems *pituspitā* in this context does not mean father's father i. e. grandfather but " one who is wiser or greater than his own father. " In modern dialects this use of the word father is quite common. Thus when one says, " I am as strong as an elephant ; " Another replies, " well then I am your father." (i. e. I am much above you in strength). [1]

त्रीणि पदानि निहिता गुहास्य यस्तानि वेद स पितुष्पितासत् । Av. 2.1.2

(Three quarters of it (are) deposited in secret ; whoso knoweth them, he shall be the father's father.)

स्त्रियः सतीस्तां उ मे पुंस आहुः पश्यदक्षण्वान्न वि चेतदन्धः ।

कविर्यः पुत्रः स ईमा चिकेत यस्ता विजानात्स पितुष्पितासत् । Av. 9.9.15

(They being women, they declared to me to be men ; he who hath eyes may see, but the blind will not distinguish ; the son that is a poet, he verily understood, whoever knows these things apart, he shall be (his) father's father.)

In Rgveda and Atharvaveda, the word *pitṛ* is used in plural to denote " ancestors or manes " in general. " The word *pitṛ* was used not only for all males of the father's generation but also for those belonging to generations beyond the father. In a similar way the word for son and grandson were the same (cf. further in पुत्र etc.). It would thus appear that the word *pitṛ* was not used by extension of meaning for all ancestors, but primarily meant

[1] " A child has dined at the name giving ceremony of his father " (तें मूल आपल्या बापाच्या बारशाला जेवलें आहे) is another way of saying that the child winds his father round its little finger. It is its father's father.

" any male beyond the speaker's generation. " In later times the connotation of the word became more definite but the plural was always used to denote dead ancestors.[1]

In the Vedas male ancestors alone are cared for and given food. *pitar* thus stands for dead *males* of the clan. It was only in later times that the female ancestors received any attention in the *Śrāddha* ceremonies and came to be counted among *pitṛs.*

In Atharvaveda the device of qualifying the word *pitṛ* by the adjective '*mahat*' is given up and new words are coined for grandfather and great grandfather. It is simply by making a composite word from the adjective and the noun that the new word is coined. Thus we have the words *pitāmaha, prapitāmaha tatāmaha* and *pratatāmaha.*

The meaning of these words is however not quite fixed. In some contexts they appear to mean " ancestors " in general, while in others they mean definitely " grandfather " and " great grandfather "

ये नः पितुः पितरः ये पितामहा य आविविशुरुर्वन्तरिक्षम् ।

य आक्षियन्ति पृथिवीमुत द्यां तेभ्यः पितृभ्यो नमसा विधेम ॥ Av. 18.2.49

(They that are our father's fathers, that are grandfathers, that entered the wide atmosphere, they that dwell on earth and heaven to those fathers would we pay worship with homage).

In this passage the words *pituśpitaras, pitāmahas* and *pitaras* are used synonymously to denote ancestors.

आत्मानं पितरं पुत्रं पौत्रं पितामहम् ।

जायां जनित्रीं मातरं ये प्रियाः तान् उपह्वये ॥ Av. 9.5.30

(Self, father, son, grandson, grandfather, wife, the mother that bore (me), those who are dear, them I call upon).

---

[1] This loose connotation of the word *Pitṛ* seems to have been responsible for a certain confusion in later Puranik mythology and history. In the Purāṇas certain kings of the line of Sōma Vaṁśa are said to have married the *Pitṛkanyā*. The Purāṇas explain this to mean that they married Svadhā a mythical daughter of the deified ancestors. But *Pitṛkanyā* must mean here the daughter of one's father i. e. either " a step sister " or " an own sister ". The marriage of a man with his sister is not an unusual phenomenon in Ṛgveda.

In this passage the meaning of the term पितामह is quite clear which means definitely *grand*father. Here are also enumerated clearly five male generations grandfather, father, self, son and grandson.

The term प्रपितामह is used once only in Atharvaveda to denote ancestors in general. It is used in the plural and hence applies to the far away ancestors. The term प्रतितामह is however used definitely to mean great grandfather as the context shows.

वैश्वानरे हविरिदं जुहोमि सहस्रं शतधारमुत्सम् ।
स बिभर्ति पितरं पितामहान् प्रपितामहान् बिभर्ति पिन्वमानः ॥ Av. 18.4.35

(In *Vaiśvānara* I offer this oblation, a thousandfold, hundred streamed fountain. It supports (our) father, grandfathers, great grandfathers it supports, swelling.

एतत्ते प्रतितामह स्वधा ये च त्वामनु । Av. 18.4.75
एतत्ते ततामह ,, ,, ,, 18.4.76
एतत्ते तत स्वधा । Av. 18.4.77

(Here is *Svadhā* for thee O! Greatgrandfather and for them that are after thee.

Here is *Svadhā* for thee O! Grandfather and for them that are after thee.

Here is *Svadhā* for thee O! father).

In Ṛgveda there is only one term to denote a male in the ascending line and that is *pitṛ*. In Atharvaveda we have four words and though there is still some confusion in some places as regards the exact ancestor meant, on the whole the terms have acquired a fixed meaning, which remained the same throughout later Sanskrit literature. The Atharvavedic terms are: (1) *pitṛ* and *tata* = father, (2) *pitāmaha* and *tatāmaha* = grandfather and (3) *prapitāmaha* and *pratatāmaha* = "great-grandfather."

Pitṛloka, the home of the father, or the clan of the father, or the abode of the departed.

उशतीः कन्यला इमाः पितृलोकात् पतिं यतीः । Av. 14.2.52

(These eager girls going to a husband from the father's world (clan)).

In this sense the word occurs as a term opposite to the term *patiloka* (पतिलोक) "the world of the husband.". Before her marriage a girl belonged to her father's world, after her marriage

she belonged to that of her husband, in life as well as in death. cf. further in पति *pati*)

Pitṛloka also means the world of the dead and as such it is quite common in later literature. The word *pitṛloka* occurs only in Atharvaveda.

(b) Female :—

मातृ, मातृतमा, जनित्री, अम्बा, अम्बि अम्बितमा.

The word *mātṛ* is used for mother in both the Vedas. Like the word *pitṛ* it seems to have been used also in a classificatory sense. Thus we have the expression *mātṛtamā* applied to rivers.

अच्छा सिन्धुं मातृतमामयासं विपाशमुर्वीं सुभगामगन्म । Rv. 3.33.3

(I have reached the most motherly Sindhu, we have approached Vipāś, the broad, the blessed).

यूयं हि ष्ठा भिषजो मातृतमा विश्वस्य स्थातुर्जगतो जनित्रीः । Rv. 6.50.7

(For ye (waters) are our most motherly physicians, parents of all that standeth, all that moveth.).

The word *mātṛtamā*, like the parallel words *pitṛtamā*, *ambitamā* and *bhrātṛtama* does not occur in Atharvaveda.

The dual of the word means just like the dual of the word *pitṛ*, "both the parents"

अनु ते शुष्मं तुरयन्तमीयतुः क्षोणी शिशुं न मातरा । Rv. 8.99.6

(To the *victorious matter* clung the Earth and Heaven as parents to their child).

The word जनित्री is used substantively to mean mother. It also occurs in the dual where it means "parents".

य इमे यावा पृथिवी जनित्री रूपैरपिंशद्भुवनानि विश्वा । Rv. 10.110.9

(He who formed these Heaven and Earth, the *parents* with their mainfold creation)

At other places *janitrī* occurs as an adjective qualifying the word *mātṛ*. Another adjective to qualify *mātṛ* is *mahī*, the feminine form of *mahā* = big. These usages are parallel to the usages as regards the word *pitṛ*. on p. 70f.

आत्मानं पितरं पुत्रं पौत्रं पितामहं । जायां जनित्रीं मातरं ये प्रियास्तानुप ह्वये ।
Av. 9.5.30

(Self, father, son, grandson, grandfather, wife, the mother that bore me, (own mother), those who are dear—them I call upon).

वाजस्य नु प्रसवे मातरं महीमदितिं नाम वचसा करामहे । Av. 7.6.4

(Now in the impulse of might, we commemorate with utterance the great (grand ?) mother *Aditi*)

प्रयुञ्जती दिव एति ब्रुवाणा मही माता दुहितुर्बोधयन्ती । Rv. 5.47.1

(Urging to toil, and making proclamation, seeking Heaven's daughter comes the great (grand ?) Mother.).[1]

In Atharvaveda also the word *mātṛ* is not further developed like the word *pitṛ*. The female relatives did not play an important role in the patriarchal institutions of the Vedic people and hence the neglect.

Besides the word *mātṛ* the words *ambā* or *ambi* (अम्बा, अम्बि) occur in Rgveda, with the superlative form *ambitamā* (अम्बितमा). It does not occur in a new verse in Atharvaveda. With one single exception the word is used throughout in the vocative.

अम्ब सुलाभिके । Rv. 10.86.6 and 7 (O Mother Sulābhike)

प्रशस्तिं अम्ब नस्कृधि । Rv. 2.41.16 (O Mother give us renown).

अम्बितमे नदीतमे देवितमे सरस्वति । Rv. 2.41.16

(Best of mothers, best of rivers, best of goddesses, Sarasvati).[2]

2. *Terms for descendants*

(a) Male :—

There are many words used for offspring in general. As the usual prayer was that for a male child, it may be inferred that most of these words were meant to stand for a male descendant. One finds them used in a very confusing way without any definite reference as to whether the descendant was removed by one

[1] The words *Maha* or *Mahat* are used elsewhere, either adjectively or substantively, to denote *age* or *status*. We have thus : ओ षु प्र याहि वाजेभिः मा हृणीयः अभि अस्मान् । महान् इव युवजानिः ॥ Rv 8. 2. 19. (Come here swift with gifts of wealth, be not angry with us like an *old man* with a *young wife*). मा नो महान्तं उत मा नो अर्भकं.....मा नो हिंसीः पितरं मातरं च..... । Av 9. 2. 29. (Do not kill our old ones, nor our little ones, neither the father, nor the mother). महो जाया विवस्वतो ननाश Rv X. 17.1. (The *eldest* wife of Vivasvan disappeared).

In Konkan among the kunbis this very adjective महत् is used in a similar way. The grandfather is called Mhātārā Bāvā (great father) and the grandmother is called Mhātāri Āi (great mother).

[2] The Indogermanic root is *Ammā* = mother. Many Sanskrit words change their final m to mb in modern dialects; thus—Sanskrit चमू *Camū* = चम्बू *Cambū* and दाडिम *Dādima* = *Dālimba* डाळिंब in Marathi. From the original *Ammā*, the word Ambā seems to have been thus derived. It was used most probably in the everyday dialect when calling the mother. Hence its occurrence in the vocative case with one exception where the meaning seems to be "women" and not mothers. अम्बयः यन्ति अध्वभिः etc. Rv. 1. 23. 16. In classical literature it was accepted and used in literature in all cases.

generation or more than one generation from the speaker. The words are used in a classificatory sense. Thus, the word for son may stand for own son, or brother's son, or for the grandson.

(A) From the root जन् *jan* जा *jā* = to be born, we have the following terms. *Jā* (जा), *prajā* (प्रजा), *vijā* (विजा), and their opposite अप्रजस् (*A-prajas*), अप्रजस्ता (*A-prajastā*) and अप्रजास्त्व (*A-prajāstva*). (जा) *Jā* means offspring,

परि पाहि नो जाः । Rv. 1.143.8

Vijā and *prajā* (विजा, प्रजा) also mean offspring.

गोभ्यो अश्वेभ्यो नमः यच्छालयां विजायते
विजावति प्रजावति वि ते पाशान् चृतामसि । (Av. 9.3.13)

(Homage to kine, to horses, whatever is born (Vijā) in the dwelling; thou rich in births (*vijā*), rich in progeny, (*prajā*) we unfasten thy fetters).

प्र जायेमहि रुद्र प्रजाभिः । Rv. 2.33.1

(May we transplant us, Rudra, in our children).

अप्रजस्, अप्रजस्ता, अप्रजास्त्व all mean "being childless." The state of childlessness was the worst that could befall a person, especially a woman and some of the most vivid stanzas of Atharvaveda are devoted to the magic by which a rival is made childless.

अस्वं त्वा अप्रजसं कृणोमि अश्मानं ते अपिधानं कृणोमि । Av. 7.35.3.

(I make thee barren, without progeny; I make a stone thy cover).

अवास्तुमेनं अस्वगं अप्रजसं करोति अपरापरणो भवति क्षीयते । Av. 12.5.45

(Without house, without home, without progeny, she makes him; he becomes without succession; he is destroyed).

अप्रजास्त्वं मार्तवत्सं आद्रोदं अघं आवयम् ।
वृक्षादिव स्रजंकृत्वा अप्रिये प्रतिमुञ्च तत् । Av. 8.6.26

(Childlessness, stillbirth, also weeping, guilt barrenness—that do thou give to our enemy as a garland from a tree).

Both barrenness (*A—prajāstva*) and stillbirth (*Mārtavatsa*) were supposed to be due to black magic or interference of demons; there are other hymns in Atharvaveda to remove these two evils. The god प्रजापति (Prajāpati) is the god of fertility and he is called upon to lay seed in a woman. In the following verse the role of different gods is made quite clear.

विष्णुर्योनिं कल्पयतु त्वष्टा रूपाणि पिंशतु ।
आ सिञ्चतु प्रजापतिः धाता गर्भं दधातु ते ॥ Av. 5.25.5

(Let *Viṣṇu* prepare the womb; let *Tvaṣṭar* adorn the forms; let *Prajāpati* pour—(the seed); late *Dhātar* place thine embryo).

(B) From तन् (*Tan*) = to draw out a thread, to last, to live on, are derived many words meaning child or descendant.

तन् , तन, तनस्-तनय and तना all mean child or offspring. In some contexts a more definite meaning—son or grandson—seems to be called for; but generally no such distinction is made. These words occur in combination with other words like तुज् (*tuj*) or शेष (*śeṣa*) or सूनु (*sūnu*) which also mean offspring and it would seem as if one word of these pairs stood for child while the other stood for grandchild.

Sometimes *tana* or *tanaya* is used adjectivally to qualify words like *sūnu* or *toka.*

तुजे नः तने पर्वताः सन्तु Rv. 5.41.9.

(Let Parvatas be for our offspring (*tuj* and *tan*)).

राया मदेम तन्वा तना च । Rv. 6.49.13

(May we and our offspring find joy in wealth)

परः स अस्तु तन्वा तना च । Rv.7.104.11 and Av. 8.4.11.

(May he be far away—swept—away—with self and with posterity) *Tan* masculine and neut. and *tanā* fem.=child or descendant,

तुजे तनाय तत्सु नो द्राघीय आयुर्जीवसे । Rv. 8.18.18

(Grant to our children (and their children? = *Taj* and *Tan*) an extended term of life)

मा कस्य अद्भुतक्रतू यक्षं भुजेमा तनूभिः ।
मा शेषसा मा तनसा । Rv. 5.70.4

May we not, O wondrous strong, enjoy another's feast-ourselves (*tanu*), our sons (*śeṣas*) or our progeny (*tanas*).

The word तनय (*tanaya*) which in later Sanskrit always means son, is used both as an adjective and as a noun in Rgveda. As a substantive it seems to mean both son and grandson. In the following the word *tanaya* is used as an adjective.

स्यान्नः सूनुस्तनयो विजावा । Rv. 3.1.23

(To us be born a son to continue our line).

बलं तोकाय तनयाय धेहि । Rv. 3.53.18

(Give strength to my child to continue the line).

तोकं पुष्येम तनयं शतं हिमाः । Rv. 1.64.14

(May we foster a son to perpetuate the family for a hundred winters).

In the above passages the meaning of the word seems to be derived directly from the root तन् (*tan*), to spread, to draw out

to lengthen. The word *tauaya* (तनय) is also used substantively. It is joined by the word च (and) with the word तोक (*tōka*) or *Toke* etc.

सूक्तस्य बोधि तनयं च जिन्व । Rv. 2.23.19

Take account of this hymn and prosper my progeny.

मा त्वे सचा तनये नित्य आ धक् मा वीरो अस्मन्नर्यो वि दासीत् । Rv. 7.21.1

(In thy company let me not be in want of a son for ever; May not a male child be wanting to us)

येन तोकं च तनयं च धामहे । Rv. 1.92.13 and 9.74.5

(So that we may get a child and a child's child (? *toka, tanaya*))

These words do not occur in Atharvaveda independently. The word *tana* (तन) appears twice, but in verses which are identical to these in Ṛgveda, the word *tanaya* (तनय) does not appear at all.[1]

From the word *tuc* तुच् = seedling, child, the following words all meaning either child or grand-child are found in Ṛgveda.

तुच् and तुज् (*tuc* and *tuj*) are found in Ṛgveda तोक (*tōka*) in Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda अवतोक, सतोक and तोकवन्त (*avatōka, satoka* and *tōkavanta*) in Atharvaveda only.

अस्य रायस्य त्वं अग्ने रथीः असि । विदा गाधं तुचे तु नः । Ṛv. 6.48.9.

(You are the charioteer of this wealth Agni, find root and safety for our progeny).

तुचे तनाय तत्सु नो द्राघीय आयुर्जीवसे । Ṛv. 8.18.18. cf. above p. 89.

तुजे नस्तने पर्वताः सन्तु । Ṛv. 5.41.9. cf. above p. 79.

तोकाय तुजे शुशुचान शं कृधि अस्मभ्यं दस्म शं कृधि Ṛv. 4.1.3

(Bless us for children and (childrens' children ?) Ye, bless us you wondrous God)

इषं तोकाय नो दधत् अस्मभ्यं सोम विश्वतः ।

आ पवस्व सहस्रिणम् ॥ Ṛv. 9.65.21.

(Soma bestowing food on our progeny, from every side pour riches on us a thousandfold).

उषस्तश्चित्रमा भर अस्मभ्यं वाजिनीवती । येन तोकं च तनयं च धामहे

Ṛv. 1.92.13.

[1] The Marathi words तानी and तानू (*Tānī* and *Tānu*) or तान्हें and तान्हुलें (*Tāhné* and *Tāhnulé*) are probably to be traced to तनु = small and तनुक = small, from तन = child, offspring.

(Dawn, enriched with wealth bestow on us wonderful gift so that we may support children and their children.)

मानस्तोके तनये मा न आयौ मा नो गोषु मा नो अश्वेषु रीरिषः । Rv. 1.114.8.
(Harm us not in our progeny, harm us not in the living, in the cows or steeds).

The use of *tuj* and *toka* or *toka* and *tanaya* in pairs is peculiar. It suggests that the words were used indiscriminately for all descendants, and when in pairs meant children and grandchildren, just like the words *tana*, *tanaya* and *sūnu*. Perhaps it is only a repetition, the two words having the same meaning as in Marathi कच्चीबच्ची, पोरंबाळं (Kacci-bacci, Pore-bāle). If so the use is rather too frequent and monotonous. From the words *pitṛ* and *mātṛ* it is quite clear that in Ṛgveda no distinction was made in the terms applied to different generations of ancestors. The same appears to be the case with descendants as will be abundantly clear in the use of the word *naptṛ* (नप्तृ).

In Atharvaveda the word *toka* तोक is not combined with any other word. Its meaning is everywhere clear and it stands for offspring in general. The meaning is very forcibly brought in the negative word *avatoka* and the words *satoka* and *tokavanta*.

या शशाप शपनेन या अघमूरमादधे । या रसस्य हरणाय जातमारेभे तोकमत्तु सा ॥
Av. 1.28.3

(She who has cursed us with a curse, or hath conceived a murderous sin, or seized our son to take his blood, let her eat her own child).

सुपूदत सूदत सूदया नस्तनूभ्यः । नयस्तोकेभ्यस्कृधि । Av. 1.26.4
(Further our cause, favour our bodies with your love. Give happiness to our children.)

The meaning is very clear in the following :

यः कृणोति सूतवत्सां अवतोकां इयं स्त्रियम् । तमोषधे त्वं नाशय Av. 8.6.9
(The fiend which makes this woman lose her child or bear untimely fruit (abortion) destroy him, O ! plant.).

मा नो देवा अहिर्बुधीत् सतोकान् सहपूरुषान् । Av. 6.56.1
(Let not the serpent kill us O ! Gods with our children and grownups)

नू नो रास्व सहस्रवत् तोकवत् पुष्टिमत् वसु । Rv. 3.13.7
(Grant us treasures thousand fold with children and with nourishment).

Another word for offspring is *apatya* (अपत्य). It is used in both the Vedas.

प्रजामपत्यं बलमिच्छमानः । Rv. 1.179.6

(wishing for children, children's children (?) and power.)

ददामीत्येव ब्रूयादनु चैनामभुत्सत । वशां ब्रह्मभ्यो याचद्भ्यस्तत्प्रजावदपत्यवत् ॥
Av. 12.4.1

(I give her—thus should he say, if they have noticed her—(I give) the cow (Vaṣā) to the priests that ask for her. That brings progeny descendants).

अस्मे रयिं नासत्या बृहन्तं अपत्यसाचं श्रुत्यं रराथाम । Rv. 1.117.23

(Grant me, Nāsatyas, riches in abundance, famous, accompanied with children).

युयोत नो अनपत्यानि गन्तोः प्रजावन्नः पशुमान् अस्तु गातुः । Rv. 3.54.18

(The lot of childlessness remove from us, and let our course be rich in kine and offspring).

क्षुधामारं तृष्णामारं अगोतां अनपत्यतां ।
अपामार्ग त्वया सर्वं तदपमृज्यताम Av. 4.17.6

(Death by hunger, death by thirst, kinelessness, childlessness—through thee, O Apāmārga, we wipe off all that).

वीर (*Vīra*) = Hero, a male child, occurs in both the Vedas. In later literature the word means hero and not " a son ".

The word *vīrasū* (वीरसू) should be interpreted as " mother of sons " in Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda.

पिन्वतं गा जिन्वतं अर्वतो नो वर्धयतम् अश्विना वीरं अस्मे । Rv. 1.118.2

(Fill full the cows, make victorious our horses and make our son prosper, O Aśvins).

वीरसूः देवकामा स्योना शं नो भव द्विपदे शं चतुष्पदे । Rv. 10.85.44 Av. 14.

(Bearing sons, loving the gods, delightful, bring blessings to our bipeds and quadrupeds). [in Atharvaveda the reading is देवृकामा = loving the Devṛ.]

यतो वीरः कर्मण्यः सुदक्षो युक्तग्रावा जायते देवकामः । Rv. 3.4.9

(From where is born a son, powerful, skilled in action, adjustor of press stones and a lover of gods).

तान्व (*tānva*) = son, occurs but once in Ṛgveda and means " child " or " son ".

न जामये तान्वो रिक्थं आरैक् ।

(The son (child) did not leave the inheritance to his brother (? sister)).

पुत्र (*putra*) and सूनु (*sūnu*) are two words oftenest used in both the Vedas and mean "a son". There are however a few places in which the meaning seems to be "child" and not male child.

पुत्र (*putra*) is derived from pou or peu = pu = small, the related words *pōta* and *potaka* (पोत, पोतक) are quite common in later literature, though not found in the Vedas. The original meaning "the little one, a child" seems to to be retained in the following verse.

पुमांसं पुत्रं जनय तं पुमान् अनु जायताम् । Av. 3.23.3
(Give birth to a male child, after him let a male be born).

The expressions *Sahasputra, Ūrjasputra* seem to mean simply "child of strength" and not necessarily "son of strength".

त्वामिद्धि सहस्पुत्र मर्त्य उपब्रूते धने हिते । Rv. 1.40.2
(O child of strength, each mortal calls to thee for aid).

ऊर्जः पुत्रं भरतं सुप्रदानुं देवा अग्निं धारयन् द्रविणोदाम् । Rv. 1.96.3
(Child of strength, well tended, the constant giver. The Gods possessed the well bestowing *Agni*).

उत त्यं पुत्रमघवः परावृक्तं शतक्रतुः । उक्थेषु इन्द्र आभजत् । Rv. 4.30.16
(To that child of an unmarried girl, to the cast away, did Indra of hundred strength cause to share the lands).

इयं गीर अह्वे शृणुतं मे अश्विना पुत्रायेव पितरा मह्यं शिक्षतम् । Rv. 10.39.6
(I call on you., Listen to me, O *Aśvins*, Give me your aid as parents aid their child).

In the above examples the word *putra* can well be translated by the word "child", but the word generally means "male child" or "son".

मम पुत्राः शत्रुहणोऽथो मे दुहिता विराट् । Rv. 10.159.3
(My sons are slayers of foes, my daughter is a ruling queen).

The word *sūnu* is derived from *sū* = to give birth. It means son, male child generally, though in some places it seems to mean simply child. At one place it is used adjectivally to qualify a word meaning child.

अग्ने दिवः सूनुरसि प्रचेताः तना पृथिव्या उत विश्ववेदाः । Rv. 3.25.1
(O Agni, thou art the wise child of the Heaven and the all knowing child of Earth. (Here *tanā* and *sūnu* are synonymous)).

अवावशन्त धीतयो वृषभस्याधि रेतसि । सूनोर्वत्सस्य मातरः । Rv. 9.19. 4

(Over the steer's productive flow (*retasi*), the songs were resonant (like) the mothers over a child born). [*Sūnu* is used as an adjective of *vatsa*].

स्यान्नः सूनुस्तनयो विजावाग्न । Rv. 3.1.23

(May we have a son (*sūnu*), of our very own, (*vijāvan*) to continue our line (*tanaya*)). Or the above may be translated.

May we have a child (*sūnu*), a son of our own (*tanayo vijāvā*).

Thus, though the words *sūnu*, *tanaya* and *putra* were used to denote "son" there are ample traces of an earlier usage when these words were true to their root-meaning and meant "one who is born, one who lives, or a little one"—that is "a child". The words were used indiscriminately for all descendants but were later used in a more restricted sense and stood for "a male child or son".

The same process can be traced also for the next and the most important word for child. The word is *naptṛ* or *napāt* (नप्तृ-नपात्).

नप्तृ, नप्ती, नप्ति, नप्त्यं; प्रणपात्, पौत्र.

Napāt = Grandchild—Nephew.

Rgvedic usage of the word is very interesting. It is used in classificatory sense meaning simply "a descendant". In some places it means "son" and in others it definitely means "grandson".

There are certain expressions of a conventional nature occurring in both the Vedas where different gods are called the *napāt* of this or that. In such expressions the meaning of the term cannot be fixed for certain. सहसो नपात्, ऊर्जो नपात्, प्रवतो नपात्, अपां नपात् are some of the many examples. Here the word नपात् is best translated by the English word "child". Child of strength, child of waters, etc., where child means not necessarily descendant in the first generation but may mean any person belonging to the 1st or second generation of descendants. *Agni* is called *tanūnapāt* (तनूनपात्) "his own child". (Cf. further in the discussion on the word *duhitṛ*).

अधि पुत्र उपमश्रवो नपात् मित्रातिथेरिहि । पितुस्ते अस्मि वन्दिता । Rv. 10.33.7
(Child Upamaśravas, son of Mitrātithi, mark, I am the eulogiser of your father).

एवा नपाता मम तस्य धीभिर्भरद्वाजा अभ्यर्चन्ति अर्कैः) । Rv. 6.50.15
(Thus do my sons Bharadvājas worship the gods with sacred rites and hymns).

In the following verse however the the word नप्तृ is clearly used to denote grand child.

इह एव स्तं मा वि यौष्ट विश्वमायुर्व्यश्नुत
क्रीळन्तौ पुत्रैर्नप्तृभिः मोदमानौ स्वे गृहे । Rv. 10.85.42, Av. 14.1.22
(Dwell here, be you not parted, reach the full time of human life, with sons and grandsons sport and play, rejoicing in your own abode).

In Atharvaveda, apart from the conventional expressions noted above, the term appears but once (the verse just quoted) and means definitely "grandchild". In Atharvaveda the terms *putra* and *sūnu* are used instead of the Rgvedic *naptṛ*, though even in Rgveda the word is rare.

नप्ती the feminine form is used many times but the meaning is vague. Nowhere can it be said to mean definitely "daughter" or "granddaughter". It simply means "female descendants".

रणस्य नप्त्यः । Rv. 8.2.42 (Child of pleasure).

अयुक्त सप्त शुन्ध्युवः सूरो रथस्य नप्त्यः । Rv. 1.50.9
(Sūrya hath yoked the pure bright seven, the daughters of the car).

नप्ती (*Napti*) is used also of hands which press the Soma juice just as ten fingers are called ten sisters, so they are probably called ten daughters which shows that the word *napti* was used for female relatives belonging to the younger generation without further differentiation.

परि प्रियां दिवः कविर्वयांसि नप्त्योर्हितः । सुवानो याति कविक्रतुः । Rv. 9.9.1

नप्त्यम् (*naptyam*)—European scholars take this word to be accusative singular of the fem. form नप्ती. It however seems to be a neuter form meaning child or grandchild as would appear from the following.

शासद् वह्निः दुहितुः नप्त्यं गात् । Rv. 3.31.1
(The ruling priest obtained a child from his daughter)

पुत्रमत्तु यातुधानी स्वसारं उत नप्त्यम् । Av. 1.28.4

(May the female fiend eat her son, sister and grandchild).[1]

The words for "son" were used apparently for the sons of brothers etc. There is no term for a brother's child. In Ṛgveda the expression *Bhrātuḥ putra* (भ्रातुः पुत्र) = brother's son, occurs once.

उदस्तभ्नाः पृथिवीं द्यामभीके भ्रातुः पुत्रान् मघवन् तिग्मिपाणः । Ṛv. 10.59.55

(The earth and heaven thou settest near each other and Maghavan, modest bright thy brother's children).[2]

पौत्र (Pautra) and **प्रणपात्** *(praṇapāt)* are two terms used for "grandchild besides the word *naptṛ* already discussed. *naptṛ* in later literature, and in the modern dialects means "grandchild". The word *praṇapāt* is used once in Ṛgveda together with the word *napāt* and means "grandchild" later on the term came to mean "great grandchild".

यस्ते शृङ्गवृषो नपात् प्रणपात् कुण्डपाय्यः । नि अस्मिन् दध्र आ मनः ।

Ṛv. 10.17.13

(He who is the son of Śṛṅgavṛṣ and grandson of Kuṇḍapāyya—in him I place my thoughts).

There are other words used occasionally to denote a "child". These are *vatsa, arbha, arbhaga arbhaka* and *kakutsala* (वत्स, अर्भ, अर्भग, अर्भक and ककुत्सल). All these words emphasize the age of a child.

Vatsa is used very frequently and denotes "a calf, the young one of a cow". In a few places the word is applied to a human child also. In later literature the word is also similarly used.

क इयं वो निण्यमा चिकेत वत्सो मातृजनयत स्वधाभिः । Ṛv. 1.95.4

(Who of you know this secret ? the infant by his own power hath brought forth the mothers).

---

[1] In Marathi the three forms corresponding to *naptṛ, naptī* and *naptyam* (नप्तृ, नप्ती, नप्त्यम्) are *nātū, nāta* and *nātavaṇḍa* (नातू , नात and नातवंड).

[2] No new word is coined for this relationship either in later Sanskrit or in the modern dialects. The words in the modern dialects are all derived from the Sanskrit *Bhrātṛja* or *Putra* (son). Thus Bhatījā and Bhatijī (भतीजा-जी) in Hindi, Bhatrījō (भत्रीजो) in Gujārati. The original classificatory use of the word *Putra* seems to have been retained in the Marathi words Putanyā and Putanī (पुतण्या-पुतणी) derived from *putra* or its Marathi equivalent *Pūta* (पूत).

अर्भ-अर्भक-अर्भग. The Indogermanic root is *orbho* = orphan, from which are derived the german words "Erbe" = orphan (therefore a successor); old german – *arpeo* or *erbo* = child, orphan, successor.

In Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda *arbha* everywhere means "small, weak"; and is used in opposition to the word *maha* = big, great.

अरेपसा तन्वा शाशदाना नार्भात् ईषते न महो विभाती । Rv. 1.124.6.
(Proud of her spotless form she brightly shining turneth not from the high (महो) nor from the humble (weak-अर्भात्).

यतो दष्टं यतो धीतं ततस्ते निर्ह्वयामसि ।
अर्भस्य तृप्रदंशिनो मशकस्य अरसं विषम् ॥ Av. 7.56.3

(Whetever bit or sucked your blood we summon thence away from thee; the ineffectual poison (अरसं विष) of the little (अर्भस्य) sharply stinging gnat.

अर्भक (*arbhaka*) or अर्भग (*arbhaga*) besides meaning weak or small also means "a small child". In Rv. 1. 116. 1 it seems to have retained the original meaning "orphaned child".

यो अर्भगाय विमदाय जायां सेनाजुवा न्यूहत् रथेन । Rv. 1.116.1
(Who, (the Aśvins) in a chariot rapid as an arrow brought to the orphaned Vimada, a wife).

The same Aśvins, it should be remembered were prayed to by Ghōṣā to bring her a husband. Ghōṣā pleaded that she was without kin (*anāpi*) and relations (*ajnā*) and that the Aśvins should take care of her as the parents of a child. So instead of translating the word *arbhaka* by the word 'weak' it would be much better to translate it by the word 'orphaned'.[1]

नहि वो अस्ति अर्भको देवासो न कुमारकः । विश्वो मन्तो महन्त इत् । Rv. 8.30.1
(Not one of you, ye Gods, is small. none of you is a feeble child. All of you are truly great).

मानो महान्तं उत मानो अर्भकं मानो वहन्तं उत मानो वक्ष्यतः मा नो हिसीः
पितरं मातरं च — Av. 11.2.29

(Harm not the grown ups, nor little ones from us, not one who bears us, nor our future bearers, neither our mother nor father).

[1] Is Marathi पोर-पोरकें the same word? The word has the same double meaning i. e. (1) a small child, (2) a child which has lost its father, mother or both. Especially the old German form '*arpe-erbo*' suggests it.

अर्भक and महान् are used in the above two verses from Rv. and Av. to mean small children and adults like the contrasting Marathi terms पोरें, थोरें ; धाकटीं, मोठीं.

The word *kakutsala* (ककुत्सल) is used only once and seems to mean ' an infant in arms '.

असो हा इह ते मनः ककुत्सलमिव जामयः । अभि एनं भूम ऊर्णुहि । Av. 18.4.66 (Let thy mind rest here. As a woman an infant, do thou wrap him (the dead), O Earth.) [1]

Three more words are found, which denote a child, a male child. They all have however a special meaning and are in the nature of adjectives used substantively. These are *anyodarya* (अन्योदर्य), *anyajāta* (अन्यजात) and *kānīna* which is the same as *agruvaḥ putra* (कानीन or अग्रुवः पुत्र).

अन्योदर्य—born from another womb.

अन्यजात—Born of another.

The two words occur in an interesting context in Rgveda. They occur in the 4th Hymn of the 7th Maṇḍala.

ईशे हि अग्निः अमृतस्य भूरेः ईशे रायः सुवीर्यस्य दातो मा त्वा वयं सहसावन्
अवीरा मा अप्सवः परिषदाम मा अदुवः । Rv. 7. 4. 6

परिषद्यं हि अरणस्य रेक्णो नित्यस्य रायः पतयः स्याम । न शेषो अग्ने अन्यजातं
अस्ति अचेतानस्य मा पथः वि दुक्षः । Rv. 7.5.7

नहि ग्रभाय अरणः सुशेवः अन्योदर्यः मनसा मन्तवा उ । अधा चिद् ओकः पुनर् इत्
स एति आ नो वाजी अभीषाळ् एतु नव्यः ॥

Agni is the lord of *amṛta* in abundance (अमृतस्य भूरेः). *Agni* is the lord of the gift of wealth and valour. May we not sit round you, O victorious God (मा त्वा सहसावन् परिषदाम्) without progeny (अवीरा), without food (अप्सवः) and without gifts (अदुवः) Rv. 7, 4, 6.

" To be avoided (परिषद्य) [2] is the wealth of the stranger (अरणस्य रेक्णः). Let us be lords of our own (नित्यस्य रायः) wealth. O Agni,

[1] The Hindi word Kākule (काकुले) in the line ' मेरे काकुले बालोंको तुम ना छेड़ो ' and the Marathi words कुकुलं or कुकुलें seem to contain the same root as Vedic Kakutsala.

[2] परिषद् to sit round. परिषद्य– potential participle. The meaning given by Grassmann and Böhtlingk is ' to be got by trouble '. Nirukta however gives the above meaning i. e. " to be avoided " the form परिषण्ण past. passive participle occurs in the Prātiśākhya of Atharvaveda where the meaning " lost " is given.

no son is he who is born of others. Do not shut the path of the unthinking (This is said of the singer himself who calls himself a fool and prays God that the way to get a child may not be barred to him) Ṛv. 7. 4. 7.

A stranger, however loved but born of another is not to be thought of as fit to be taken or adopted. Indeed he, the stranger child goes back to his own home. Therefore let a new victorious hero come to us (let a son be born to us anew) " Ṛv. 7. 4. 8.[1]

The verses definitely show a dislike of adopting strange children. Though the very dislike proves that the custom of adoption existed in Ṛgvedic times as is also evident from the Śunaśśepa story.

The word कानीन (*kānīna*), the child of a *kanā*, an unmarried girl, occurs in Atharvaveda 5.5.8

शिलाची नाम कानीनो अजबभ्रु पिता तव ।

(Silāci by name, thy father, O Goatbrown, is a maiden's son). here a potent medicinal climbing-plant called Silāci is said to have sprung from the son of an unmarried woman.

There are two references in Ṛgveda to a child of a maiden. In the following two verses reference is made to a case in which Indra rescues such a child and brings it glory.

वम्रीभिः पुत्रमघुवो अदानं निवेशनात् हरिव आ जभर्थ । Ṛv. 4.19.9

(Lord of bay steeds thou broughtest from the anthill the unwedded girl's son whom ants were eating).

उतत्यं पुत्रमघुवः परावृक्तं शतक्रतुः । उक्थेषु इन्द्र आ भजत् । Ṛv. 4.30.16

(So Indra, Lord of Powers, caused the unwedded girl's son, the castaway, to share the lands). The adjective *parāvṛkta* is significant. Such a child had no legitimate place in the society.

---

[1] The singer of the hymn is Vasiṣṭha Maitrāvaruṇi, whose only son (according to Puranic tradition), Śakti was killed by a demon. And he is praying for an own offspring to continue the line. The Puranic tradition says that a posthumous child was born to Śakti's wife some years after Śakti's death. Probably it was Vasiṣṭha's child. Is that why he asks Agni not to bar his way even though it be a fool's way ? (अ चेतानस्य मा पथः वि दुक्षः). One thing certain, that rather than adopt a strange child, it was sought to have one's own child by whatever means (whether customary or extraordinary).

(b) Female:—

The words for female descendants are very few as compared to the numerous words for a male child.

कना, कन्या, कन्यना and **कन्यला** all mean a young maiden.

The words appear to be derived from the root कन् (*kan*) meaning "fresh sprung" and applied to the young one of all animals. The word does not occur in either book, but its comparative and superlative forms are both used in Vedic as also in later literature. They are कनीयस् (*kanīyas*) and कनिष्ठ (*kaniṣṭha*). Just as many words for son are derived from words meaning small (पुत्र) or little (तन), so these words are all derived from कन meaning "a little one".[1]

Like the word तन for son, the word कना is used both adjectivally as also substantively.

पुनस्तद् आ वृहति यत् कनायाः दुहितुः आ अनुभृतं अनर्वा । Rv. 10.61.5

(The irresistible [god] drew forth again that which was introduced into his young (small) daughter).

Here *Kanā* (कना) is an adjective of *Duhitṛ* (दुहितृ).

अधा गावः उपमातिं कनायाः अनु श्वान्तस्य कस्य चित् परेयुः । Rv. 10.61.21

(Then went the cows forth to please the young girl and every man that lives).

Here *kanā* is used substantively to mean a girl. कन्या (*Kanyā*) is used in both the Vedas for a young girl of a marriageable age having lovers or just given in marriage as a bride. The word is used in one place in contrast to the word *janī* (जनी) = a married dame.

जारः कनीनां पतिर्जनीनाम् । Rv. 1.66.4

((Agni) you are the lover of *maids* and husband of dames).

त्वमर्यमा भवसि यत्कनीनां नाम स्वधावन् गुह्यं बिभर्षि । Rv. 5.3.2

(You are Aryaman in as much as you keep the secret of maidens).

---

[1] Though the word कन is not found, the word (*Kanina*) कनीन = young is used in Rgveda. Thus—सद्यो ह जातो वृषभः कनीनः (Rv. 3. 48. 1) "Suddenly was born the young bull".

अयं कनीनः ऋतुपा अवेदि (Rv. 10. 99. 10) "(He) was known as the young guardian of the seasons)".

एषा ते राजन् कन्या वधूः नि धूयतां यम । Av. 1.14.2

(O King Yama, this girl is your bride, shake her).

यं बाल्बजं न्यस्यथ चर्म चोपस्तृणीथन ।
तदारोहतु सुप्रजा या कन्या विन्दते पतिम् ॥ Av. 14. 2.22

(What grass you cast down and what hide you spread under, that let the girl of good progeny mount, who finds a husband).[1]

कन्यानां विश्वरूपाणां मनो गृभाय ओषधे । Av. 2.30.4

(Of the maidens of many forms seize thou the mind, Oh plant !) says a young man in a magical incantation.

Kanyā is represented as having a lover, or ornamented for a bride show.

कन्येव तन्वा शाशदाना एषि देवि देवमियक्षमाणम् ।
संस्मयमाना युवतिः पुरस्ताद् आविर्वक्षांसि कृणुषे विभाती ॥ Rv.1.123.10
सुसंकाशा मातृसृष्टेव योषा विस्तन्वं कृणुषे दृशे कम् । Rv. 1.123.11

(Like a maiden triumphing, Oh Goddess ! you go to the God who longs to win you, And smiling, youthful, shining brightly you discover your bosom before him. Fair as a young maid embellished by her mother you show your form that all may see it).

We have in these verses a vivid picture of the custom of bride-show, when the mother or other elderly women of the household ornament and dress the young girl and lead her in the presence of those who have come to view her.

नि ते नंसै पीप्यानेव योषा मर्यायेव कन्या शश्वचै ते । Rv. 3.33.10

(I will bend low like a nursing mother and yield myself as a maiden to her lover).

अभि त्वा योषणो दश जारं न कन्यानूषत । Rv. 9.56.3

(Ten maids have welcomed you as a girl welcomes her lover). [Soma welcomed by ten fingers is here compared to lover of a maid].

The forms (कन्यना) *Kanyanā* and (कन्यला) *Kanyalā* are also found.

सोमं जुषेथां युवशेव कन्यनां ॥ Rv. 8.35.5

(Accept Soma as a youth accepts a maiden).

[1] The bride is made to sit down on a seat of grass and hide with a small boy in her lap, as token of her future fertility.

वृक्षं वृक्षं आरोहसि वृषण्यन्तीव कन्यला । Av. 5.5.3

(Tree after tree thou climbest, like a lustful girl).

उशतीः कन्यला इमाः पितृलोकात् पतिं यतीः अवदीक्षाम् असृक्षत स्वाहा ।
Av. 14.2.52

(Eager, these girls, going to a husband from the father's world, have let go the consecration) (*kanyā*).

कन्या. or the unmarried girl was supposed to possess some power or was supposed to be particularly auspicious as the following verses show.

यथा यशः कन्यायां यथास्मिन् संभृते रथे ।
एवा मे वरणो मणिः कीर्तिं भूतिं नियच्छतु । Av. 10.3.20

(As glory dwelleth in a maiden and in this well-made car, so may the charm, the Varaṇa give me prosperity and fame).

कन्यायां वर्चो यद्भूमे तेन अस्मां अपि सं सृज मा नो द्विक्षत कश्चन । 12.1.25

(Unite in us the splendid energy of maids, O Earth, Let no one hate us).

In Maratha country the unmarried daughter is required for certain religious preformances and is said to represent Lakṣmī. The mystic power of a girl consists, I suppose, in her potential Mother-hood. [1]

While *kanā* or *kanyā* is a general word for a maid, Duhitṛ (दुहितृ) is definitely a relationship term. It is used frequently in both the Vedas and means daughter. It is very probable that the word was used in a classificatory sense, it is however not possible to give examples of this usage as the relationship terminology for females is very undeveloped and crude. Throughout Sanskrit literature and in modern dialects the terms used for a man's brother's children are those derived from the words for son and daughter. [2]

---

[1] The word कना or कनी (*kanā, kanī*) small, seems to have the same root as Marathi चिनकू and चिनकी, pet names for a boy and a girl.

[2] In some Marathi dialects the word for daughter is धुया or धुवा as will be seen from the following proverbs. (बोले सुनेक लागे धुयेक) and (दोनय चुली सारख्यो नर मायधुवो लाडक्यो). The word for a man's brother's *daughter* is (besides the standard पुतणी already noticed) धुवडी or ध्वाडी a dimunitive form of धुवा = daughter.

The word is applied very frequently to Uṣas (dawn) as the daughter of the heaven.

त्वं त्येभिरागहि वाजेभिर्दुहितर्दिवः । Ṛv. 1.30.22

(Come, daughter of heaven with your prizes).

उष आ भाहि चन्द्रेण भानुना दुहितर्दिवः । Ṛv. 1.45.9

(Shine on us with radiant light oh dawn, daughter of the heavens).

[Day and night are called daughters of the sky and therefore sisters].

देवी दिवो दुहितरा सुशिल्पे उषासानक्ता सदतां नि योनौ । Ṛv. 10.70.6

(Here in this place may be seated the two skilful goddesses, daughters of heaven, Dawn and Night).

अरुषस्य दुहितरा विरुपे स्तृभिरन्या पिपिशे सूरो अन्या । Ṛv. 6.49.3

(Unlike in form are red God's two daughters. one is the Sun's, the stars bedeck the other).

The following references in Atharvaveda are interesting.

अभ्यक्ताक्ता स्वरं कृता सर्वं भरन्ती दुरितं परोहि जानीहि कृत्ये कर्तारं दुहितेव पितरं स्वम् । 10.1.25

(Anointed, smeared, well adorned, bearing all difficulty, go thou away; recognise, O Kṛtyā (Witchcraft personified) thy maker as a daughter her own father).[1]

The following verses point out to an incestuous union between father and daughter.

शासद् वह्निः दुहितुः नप्त्यं गात् विद्वान् ऋतस्य दीधितिं सपर्यन् ।
पिता यत्र दुहितुः सेकं ऋञ्जन् सं शग्म्येन मनसा दधन्वे ॥ Ṛv. 3.31.1

(The ruling Vahni, wise, respecting the laws of truth, came to a grandson through his daughter; like a father rejoicing in his daughter's pourings sped (to her) with an eager mind).[2]

[1] Böhtlingk and Roth (St. Petersburg Dictionary) suggest that *jnā–jan*= to know here has the biblical sense of "carnal" knowledge. The verse thus means "visit thy maker as a daughter visits her father." Cf. further verses about father-daughter relation.

[2] The verse describes in a poetic way the birth of Agni or Vahni (fire), who is called *Tanūnapāt* (तनूनपात्) i. e. "his own child or grandchild, '*Vahni*' is one who carries the oblation and therefore the term is applicable to both

(*continued on next page*)

उत्तानयोः चम्वोः योनिरन्तरत्रा पिता दुहितुर्गर्भं आधात् ।

Rv. 1.164.33; Av. 9.10.12

(In the womb within the two out-stretched cups, (the heaven and earth) the father set the daughter's seed).

पिता यत् स्वां दुहितरं अधिष्कन् क्षमया रेतः संजग्मानो निषिञ्चन् । Rv. 10.91.7

(When the father (Brahman), bent on impregnating his own daughter, united with her, discharged his seed on the earth).[1]

Amājur (अमाजुर्), *pitṛṣad* (पितृषद्) and *agru* or *agrū* (अग्रु, अग्रू) are adjectives used substantively to denote certain kinds of girls.

Amājur is a girl who has become old in her father's house. *Agru* is also applied to an unmarried girl. *Agru* means one who is not big with child, (*a*+*guru*), therefore " one who is not married ". Both these terms originally applied to a spinster as terms of contempt, were later, by extension, used also for bachelors. *Pitṛṣad* is a girl who lives with her father, i. e. an unmarried girl.

अमाजूरिव पित्रोः सचा सती समानात् आ सदसः त्वां इये भगम् । Rv. 2.17.7

(I call on you (Indra), as an old maid living with her father

---

the priest and the fire and the whole paradox rests on this double meaning of the word *Vahni*. The verse seems to disclose a very immoral act on the part of the priest, an immorality, which is enhanced by the adjectives *vidvān* and *ṛtasya dīdhitin saparyan* i. e. wise and knowing the laws of truth. But this apparent immoral act resolves into a highly ritualistic act, when the following interpretation is used. *Vahni* the priest generates the fire (*naptya*) by quirling of the fire sticks, the *araṇis*, which are his daughters, and his heart gladdens when soft wood-dust (the seka) is produced and is ignited by friction. Thus from Vahni, the priest, is generated Vahni, the fire, through the agency of the daughters, the fire-sticks. Fire thus becomes his own child or grandchild. (Cf. New Indian Ant. 1939, II, No. 2., P. 120).

[1] The word *duhitṛ* दुहितृ does not seem to be connected with the verb *duh* (दुह्) to milk. Modern linguists do not derive the word *Duhitā* from the verb " duh ". Cultural history substantiates this modern view. Nowhere is the milking of cows mentioned as the job of the daughter of the house. Among other pastoral communities like the Todas, the Hottentots and the Massais, women-folk are not allowed to milk the cows and buffaloes. The Vedic people were also a pastoral people and no exception to this cultural feature, by which milking is the jealously guarded privilege of the males.

calls on Bhaga, from the house where a marriage is being performed).[1]

अमाजुरः चित् भवथो युवं भगो। Rv. 10.39.3

This is the prayer of Ghoṣā the spinster, to Aśvins for a husband. She says, (you (Aśvins) are like Bhaga (the husband bringer god) to spinster).

In the following, the word is used for men, but the meaning bachelor does not seem to be necessarily intended—

मा ते अमाजुरो यथा सूरास इन्द्र सख्ये तावत्। निषदाम सचा सुते॥ Rv.8.21.15

(With a frendship like yours, O Indra, may we not sit round this juice, like fools idling in a father's house).

Agrū is the unmarried girl (cf. above p. 89 for the " child of an unmarried girl:— अग्रुवः पुत्र).

अयम् आयाति अर्यमा पुरस्ताद् विषितस्तुपः अस्याः इच्छन् अग्रुवै पतिं उत जायाम् अजानये। Av. 6.60.1

---

[1] Sāyaṇa, and following him Wilson, give a different meaning to this line. Their interpretation is as follows:— As a virtuous (maiden), growing old in the same dwelling with her parents, (claims from him her support), so I come to thee for wealth. " समानात् सदसः is interpreted as 'same dwelling'. Nowhere in the body of the verse is it said, that an unmarried girl claims a certain share of the father's property, but this is taken as understood and from this strange interpretation Dr. A. S. Altekar (Woman in ancient India) draws some conclusions as regards the customs of inheritance among the Vedic people.

I paraphrase the above verse as follows:—

यथा पित्रोः सचा सती अमाजूः समानात् सदसः भगं इयते तथा अहं त्वां इये।

Samāna or *Samana* is used in both Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda for marriage and *Samānāt Sadasaḥ* means " from a house where marriage is performed. " The prayer of an *Amājur* visiting another maiden's marriage is given in Atharvaveda.

अश्रमत इयं अर्यमन् अन्यासां समनं यती। अङ्क्षे नु अर्यमन् अस्याः अन्याः समनमायति॥ Av. 6. 60. 2. (This girl, oh Aryaman, has toiled going to other girls' marriage assembly; now O Aryaman, shall other women come to her marriage assembly ?).

Just as an unmarried girl pining at her father's house and witnessing others' marriages calls on Bhaga, so the worshipper calls on Indra. The old maid in a household, where the marriage assembly is come together for another's marriage, would naturally call on Bhaga. In this interpretation every word is translated according to its vedic meaning. The relation of Bhaga and the spinster is well established in many hymns in both Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda.

(Here comes Aryaman, with locks loosened in front, seeking a husband for this spinster, and a wife for a wifeless one).

Agru is the unmarried man.

ये अग्रवः शशमानाः परेयुः हित्वा द्वेषांसि अनपत्यवन्तः ।
ते ग्राम्यादिस्य अविदन्त लोकं नाकस्य पृष्ठे अधि दीध्यानः ॥ Av. 18.2.47

(Those unmarried men assiduous, abandoning hatreds, having no progeny—they go up to heaven, have found a place and shine upon the suface of the firmament).

Pitṛsad=sitting in the father's house and therefore an old maid, occurs twice in Rgveda and once in Atharvaveda.

घोषायै चित् पितृषदे दुरोणे पतिं जूर्यन्त्या अश्विनौ अदत्तम् । Rv. 1.117.7

(To Ghoṣā, living in her father's house, getting on in years, ye gave a husband O Aśvins).

उदीर्ष्वातः पतिवती हि एषा विश्वावसुं नमसा गीर्भिः ईळे ।
अन्यां इच्छ पितृषदं व्यक्तां स ते भागो जनुषा तस्य विद्धि ॥
Rv. 10.85.20 (Av. 14.2.33)

(Rise up from hence; this maiden has a husband. I laud Viśvāvasu with hymns and songs. Seek another fair one, sitting at her father's house that is your natural portion. Know it).

(To be continued)

Annals of the
Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute

VOL. XX] JANUARY 1939 [PART II

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND KINSHIP USAGES IN RGVEDA AND ATHARVAVEDA*

BY

IRAWATI KARVE

3. *Terms for collaterals.*

(a) Male:—

Just as there are no words for uncles and aunts so also there are no terms for cousins. The concept of cousinship is entirely absent not only in Vedic literature but also in classical Sanskrit literature and in the modern dialects. In the modern dialects according to marriage practices, all cousins are either called brothers and sisters or, in provinces where cross-cousin marriage prevails, the parallel cousins are called brothers and sisters and the cross cousins are called affinies or mates of each other.

From the Vedic data it appears that besides the word (भ्रातृ) (*bhrātṛ*) for brother, and *svasṛ* (स्वसृ) for sister, there was at an earlier date a word which was used for both brother and sister. The word denoted the relationship between the two; this word is *jāmi* (जामि).

जामिः सिन्धूनां भ्रातेव स्वस्राम् । Rv. 1.65.7

([Fire] is the *jāmi* of rivers, as a brother is that of sister).

संगच्छमाने युवती समन्ते स्वसारा जामी पित्रोरुपस्थे ।
.... द्यावा रक्षतं पृथिवी नो अभ्वात् ॥ Rv. 1.185.5

* Continued from the Annals Vol. XX Part (i) p. 96.

(Moving together, youthful, with their ends meeting the two *jāmi* geschwister (brother and sister), lying in their parents' lap—The Heaven and Earth! protect us from danger).

ते मायिनो ममिरे सुप्रचेतसो जामी सयोनी मिथुना समोकसा। Ṛv. 1.159.4

(They (the Ṛbhus) of surpassing skill and wise have measured out (laid out) the pair of *jāmis* having the same birth and the same house).

Sayoni is the same as *sahodara* being born of one person, geschwister.

In the above two verses the Heaven and Earth are called brother and sister and each other's *jāmi*.

The word *jāmi* is used also for the milk which is mixed with the Soma. The milk or water being thus the *jāmis* of the Soma juice.

ते जानत स्वमोक्यं सं वत्सासो न मातृभिः। मिथो नसन्त जामिभिः॥
Ṛv. 8.72.14

(They know their own abode like calves with their mothers; they mix together with the *jāmis*).

दिवा पृथिव्या मिथुना सबन्धू यमीः यमस्य विभृयात् अजामि। Ṛv. 10.10.10

(With heaven, with earth paired, of near connection—Yami must bear the un*jāmi*-like conduct of Yama).

Jāmi is thus used of brother and sister together, of the pair Heaven and Earth, of Soma juice and milk mixed together and lastly when Yama refuses the request of marriage of Yami, she calls his conduct not *jāmi*-like.

Jāmi (जामि) was not only a reciprocal term for brother and sister but connoted also a mutual obligation—the obligation to marry.

The word *jāmi* is applied to women relatives or sisters. The word also has the connotation of relationship in general.

यत्ते माता यत्ते पिता जामिर्भ्राता च सर्जतः।
प्रत्यक्सेवस्व भेषजं जरदष्टिं कृणोमि त्वा॥ Av. 5.30.5

(What thy mother, what thy father, sister (*jāmi*) and brother shall infuse—heed thou the opposing remedy; I make thee one who reaches old age).

अमूर्या यन्ति योषितो हिरा लोहितवाससः।
अभ्रातर इव जामयः तिष्ठन्तु हतवर्चसः॥ Av. 1.17.1

(These women that go, veins with red garments, like brother-less sisters—let them stop with their splendour smitten).

In many passages *jāmi* is used adjectivally. Besides *jāmi svasārā* (जामि स्वसारा) quoted above there are the following examples.

सं द्वयीभिः स्वसृ भिः क्षेति जामिभिः । Rv. 9.72.3

(Now he makes his home (क्षेति) with twofold *jāmi* sisters [fingers of the two hands in which the Soma plant is pressed for juice]).

In other passages the ten fingers are designated just by the word *jāmi* without adding the substantive स्वसृ.

एष वृषा कनिक्रदत् दशभिः जामिभिः यतः ।
अभि द्रोणानि धावति । Rv. 9.28.4

(This bull bellowing, directed by the ten sisters, runs towards the vats).

It appears that *jāmi* was originally applied to geschwister, as mates. Then it came to mean "sister" and later stood for general relationship. The original meaning of "mates" seems to be preserved in the word *jāmātṛ* (जामातृ) and *jāmāi* its modern equivalent, meaning the mate of the daughter of the clan.[1]

Bhrātṛ भ्रातृ is the word most used to designate a brother. There is no ambiguity in meaning as with the word *jāmi*. Just as gods are addressed as father and mother, so they are also called each other's brothers or the brothers of the worshipper.

समानो वां जनिता भ्रातरा युवं यमौ इहेह मातरा । Rv. 6.59.2

(Common father have you (Indra and Agni), you are twin brothers. Your parents pervade all (इहेहमातरा = whose parents are here and there i. e. everywhere. They are द्यावापृथिवी *Dyāvā-pṛthivī*, the Heaven and Earth)).

अग्निं मन्ये पितरं अग्निं आपिं अग्निं भ्रातरं सदमित् सखायम् । Rv. 10.6.3

[1] Walde and Pokorny derive the word *jāmi* from *jam* (जम्) "to marry". They repudiate Grassmann's derivation by which *jāmi* is given as equivalent of *Yama* (यम) i. e. twins. The usage of the word in the numerous quotations in Ṛgveda does not give it the significance of the word यमौ (*Yamau*), except in the quotation जामा स्वसारा. But seeing that the ten fingers and *Soma*, who have no common origin, are also called *jāmis*, the translation of *jāmi* by the word "mate" seems to be more adequate. The derivation of Walde and Pokorny (Cf. Wörterbuch der Indogerm. Sprache, p. 574) seems to be correct.

(Agni I deem my father, Agni my kinsman, Agni (my) brother and my friend for ever).

वस्यां इन्द्रासि मे पितुः उत भ्रातुः अभुञ्जतः ।
माता च मे छदयथः समा वसो वसुत्वनाय राधसे ॥ Rv. 8.1.6

(O Indra, you are richer than my father and my niggardly brother. You and my mother seem alike in giving wealth and presents) [Is this the plaint of a younger brother ?]

मा भ्रातुरग्ने अनृजोःऋणं वेः । Rv. 4.3.13

(O Agni, do not go after us (present) for the sins committed by our dishonest brother).

यस्त्वा भ्राता पतिः भूत्वा जारो भूत्वा निपद्यते ।
प्रजां यस्ते जिघांसति तमितो नाशयामसि । Rv. 10.162.5

(He who sleeps with you, becoming (taking the form of) your brother, husband, lover and kills your progeny—him I kill).

ज्येष्ठ. The superlative of the adjective ज्यायस् (*jyāyas*) is sometimes used in such a way that it becomes an independent term for the eldest in the house. Probably it was used for the eldest brother.

नो भ्राता नो ज्येष्ठः प्रथमो विवोचति । Rv. 10.11.2, Av. 18.1.19

(Our brother, our eldest shall speak first).

The brother is Agni, he is also the eldest and therefore fit to give advice. The other epithets of Agni are Dampati and Viśpati. He is the leader.

शीरं पावकशोचिषं ज्येष्ठो यो दमेषु आ दीदाय दीर्घश्रुत्तमः । Rv. 8.102.11

(Hot, brilliant-flamed, shone (Agni), the most famous, the eldest in the household).

ज्येष्ठेन सोतर् इन्द्राय सोमं वीराय शक्राय । भर आ पिबन् नर्याय । Rv. 8.2.23

(O presser, offer Soma first (*jyeṣṭhena*) to Indra, hero, Śakra, the friend of man, that he may drink).

Jyeṣṭha was the first born and therefore should be served first. He is first among gods though called young at other places.

मा ज्येष्ठं वधीद् अयं अग्न एषां मूलबर्हणात् परि पाहि एनम् । Av. 6.112.1

(Agni, may he not kill the eldest of them. Protect him from uprooting).

काले तपः काले ज्येष्ठं काले ब्रह्म समाहितम् । Av. 19.53.8

(In time is ferver, in time is priority (ज्येष्ठम्), in time is the Brahman collected).

अजाता आसन् ऋतवः अथो धाता बृहस्पतिः ।
इन्द्राग्नी अश्विना तर्हि कं ते ज्येष्ठं उपासत । Av. 11.8.5

(Unborn were the seasons, likewise Dhātar, Bṛhaspati, Indrāgni, the two Aśvins, at that time. Whom did they worship as the eldest (the chief)?).

The chieftainship, the higest position in the household, seems to have been held by the eldest brother, who was called *jyeṣṭha*. The word was used substantively of the eldest brother.[1]

A special term is found in Atharvaveda for an elder brother, who is unmarried, while the younger brother is married. The term is परिवत्त (*parivitta*). In later literature पारविण्ण or परिविन्न is the over slaughed elder brother, the परिवेतृ being reserved for the younger brother who marries even though the elder is unmarried. The girl so married is called परिवेदनीया.

In Atharvaveda it is not clear who is meant by *parivitta*, whether the elder brother or the younger brother. Sāyaṇa takes the latter meaning, which seems to be justified by the context. It must also be remembered, that in Atharvavedic time the word need not necessarily have meant what it connoted at a later date.[2] The word occurs in Av. 6. 112. 3. The hymn is a magical incantation to remove the guilt of the *parivitta* and his parents for perpetrating the sin of such a marriage. The younger brother who marries, and the parents who allow such a marriage, are active sinners, while the elder brother is the passive sinner or rather a sufferer in a sin committed against him. The hymn opens with the words.

मा ज्येष्ठं वधीत् अयम अग्न

(O Agni may he not kill the eldest.) the 2nd and 3rd verses being:

उन्मुञ्च पाशान् त्वमग्न एषां त्रयस्त्रिभिः उत्सिता येभिः आसन् ।
स ग्राह्याः पाशान् वि चृत प्रजानन् पितापुत्रौ भ्रातरं मुञ्च सर्वान् । Av.6.112.2
येभिः पाशैः परिवित्तो विबिद्धः अङ्गे अङ्गः आर्पित उत्सितश्च ।
वि ते मुञ्चतां विमुचो हि सन्ति भ्रूणादिव पुरुष दुरितानि मुञ्च ॥ Av. 6.112.3

---

[1] In modern usage the word *jeṭha* (जठ), which is the same as Sanskrit *jyeṣṭha* (ज्येष्ठ) is used for the eldest brother in Gujarati and Hindi. The wife of this brother is called *jeṭhāṇī* (जेठाणी).

[2] ज्येष्ठे ऽनिर्विंशे कनीयान् निर्विंशन् परिवेत्ता भवति । परिविण्णो ज्यष्ठः । परिवेदनीया कन्या । परिदायी दाता । परिकता याजकः । ते सर्वे पाततः ।

(Do thou, O Agni, loosen up the bonds of these, the three with which these three were tied up ; do thou, knowing, unfasten the bonds of *grāhi*; free all—father, son, mother. With what bonds the *parivitta* is bound apart tied up in each limb—let them be released, for these are releasers ; wipe off the sins, O Pūṣan, on the embryo-slayer).[1]

From the 1st line and the lines that follow, it appears that *parivitta* is the younger brother who has married before his elder and is trying together with his parents—the co-sinners—to expiate for the sin committed in stealing the birth-right of the eldest brother.

भ्रात्र and भ्रातृत्व are two terms used often in both the Vedas for brotherhood. These terms also occur with the terms सख्यं, सखित्व and सखित्वन and seem to mean friendship.

नाहं वेद भ्रातृत्वं नो स्वसृत्वं इन्द्रो विदुरङ्गिरसश्च घोराः । Ṛv. 10.108.10
(Neither brotherhood nor sisterhood do I know. The dread Angirasas and Indra know them)

क इन्द्रस्य युज्यं कः सखित्वं को भ्रात्रं वष्टि कवये क ऊती । Ṛv. 4.25.2
(Who seeks Indra's bond, friendship and brotherhood, who, protection from the Wise (Indra) ?)

मर्ताश्चिद् वो नृतवो रुक्मवक्षसः उप भ्रातृत्वमायति । Ṛv. 8.20.22
O dancers, with breasts adorned with gold, even mortals attain your brotherhood)

This last quotation implies that brotherhood is between equals, but in the case of Maruts even the mortals may attain their brotherhood.

भ्रातृव्य (*bhrātṛvya*) is a word very often used in Atharvaveda and occurs once in Ṛgveda in the negative form : अभ्रा (a-bhrātṛvya). The meaning of the word is not quite clear. It is used in most places to denote a hated rival within the clan. It may mean in some places either brother or cousin.

अभ्रातृव्यो अना त्वं अनापिः इन्द्र जनुषा सनादसि । युधेत् आपित्वं इच्छसे ॥
Ṛv. 8.21.13
(O Indra from all ancient times you are without brothers or kin. You seek comradeship (kinship) in war)

[1] Wiping off one's sin on somebody else is an idea which occurs frequently in Av. In the marriage ceremony the sins of the bride and the groom are wiped off on the best man. *Cf.* further in सम्बल (*Sambala*).

Compare this with Ghoṣā's description of herself अनापिः अज्ञाः असजात्या अमतिः etc. where the word *anāpi* occurs with *ajñā* and *asajātyā*. It would appear that अभ्रातृव्य is the same as अभ्रात्र or असजात्य (*abhrāṭṛvya* = *abhrātra* = *asajātya*) and means brother or a kinsman, as in a patriarchal clan all males of the same age-group would be brothers.

तक्मन् भ्रात्रा बलासेन स्वस्रा कासिकया सह।
पाम्ना भ्रातृव्येण सह गच्छ अनुमरणं जनम् ॥ Av. 5.22.12

(O fever, together with brother Balāsa and sister cough (*kāsikā*), together with cousin (? *bhrāṭṛvya*) scab, go to yon foreign people)

In this verse the word *bhrāṭṛvya* seems to be used with a definite relationship-content. *Bhrāṭṛvya* was a kind of brother, that is a cousin and as there was always rivalry between the children of different brothers as regards chieftainship, marriage and inheritance, the word came to stand generally for rival kinsmen. With the exception of the two quotations above, *bhrāṭṛvya* everywhere means rival in Atharvaveda, being an equivalent of *sapatna* (सपत्न); and there are many magical performances for the destruction of the *bhrāṭṛvyas*.

वृश्चते अस्य अप्रियो भ्रातृव्या य एवं वेद। Av. 8.10.8

(Cut off is his unfriendly rival who knows this)

भ्रातृव्यक्षयणमसि भ्रातृव्यचातनं मे दाः। Av. 2.18.1

(Rival-destroying art thou; expulsion of rivals mayest thou give me)

अघायतामापि नह्या मुखानि सपत्नेषु वज्र अर्षय एतम्।
इन्द्रेण दत्ता प्रथमा शतौदना भ्रातृव्यघ्नी यजमानस्य गातुः। Av. 10.9.1

(Fasten thou the mouths of the mischiefmakers; bring this thunderbolt upon our rivals; given by Indra, first, with a hundred rice dishes, cousin slaying (rival slaying), the success of the sacrificer (art thou))

It is remarkable that nowhere in both the Vedas is the dual of the word *bhrātṛ* used to denote a brother and a sister together. The word *svasṛ* is however so used.

(b) Females:—

Two words are used to denote sister. They are *jāmi* and *svasṛ* (जामि and स्वसृ). It was pointed out (cf. p. 79 above), that the words तन, तनय, सूनु (*tan*, *tanaya*, *sūnu*) are used adjectivally as also substantively. It was also pointed out that the word *kanyā* (कन्या)

or *kanā* (कना) was used as an adjective of the word दुहितृ (*duhitṛ*) and that it also means a female child. A parallel usage is found as regards the word *jāmi* and *svasṛ*. *Jāmi* is used as an adjective of *svasṛ* and in other passages it means *svasṛ* or sister.

संगच्छमाने युवती समन्ते स्वसारा जामी पित्रोरुपस्थे ।
अभिजिघ्रन्ती भुवनस्य नाभिं यावा रक्षतं पृथिवी नो अभ्वात् । Ṛv. 1.105.5

(Faring together, young, with their ends meeting the two jāmi geschwister, in their father's lap, kissing (inhaling), the centre of the world; let Heaven and Earth protect us from danger)

हिन्वन्ति सूरमुश्रयः स्वसारः जामयः पतिम् । महां इन्दुं महीयुवः । Ṛv. 9.65.1

(The great (*mahīyuvaḥ*), shining (*usrayaḥ*) jāmi sisters send forth the Sūra Indu, their great lord). Said of the ten fingers which press the Soma juice.

ऋतस्य योनौ अशयत् दमूनाः जामीनां अग्निः अपसि स्वसॄणाम् । Ṛv. 3.1.11

(Friend of the house, Agni lay within the lap of order, in the *jāmi* rivers' service).

In all the above quotations *jāmi* is an adjective of the word *svasṛ*.

भगस्य स्वसा अरुणस्य जामिः उषः सूनृते प्रथमा जरस्व । Ṛv. 1.123.5

Sister of Bhaga, *jāmi* (sister?) of Aruṇa, first among all, sing thou, O beautiful Uṣas)

प्रास्य धारा बृहतीः असृग्रन् अक्तो गोभिः कलशान् आ विवेश ।
साम कृण्वन् सामन्यो विपश्चित् क्रन्दन् एति अभि सख्युः न जामिम ।
Ṛv. 9.96.22

(His mighty flow hath streamed forth; he has entered balmed with milk, the goblets; singing the psalms, well skilled in song, a chanter, he comes roaring, as one who comes to his friend's sister)

यत्ते माता यत्ते पिता जामिर्भ्राता च सर्जतः । Av. 5.30.5

(What thy mother, what thy father, your sister and your brother have concocted—)

In this verse the word jāmi can also be taken as an adjective of the word *bhrātā*, in which case, it is to be noted, that the word *jāmi* is used as an adjective of the word *svasṛ* as also of the word *bhrātṛ*.

Jāmi in dual means brother and sister taken as a pair. cf. p. 110 above.

प्रियं दुग्धं न काम्यमजामि जाम्योः सचा । Ṛv. 5.19.4

(I bring as it were the longed for milk dear to the pair (*dyāvā-pṛthivī* = Heaven and Earth))

The word *jāmi* is used for a brother, a sister and for both together. It is also used as an adjective of the words *bhrātā* (brother) and *svasā* (sister).

It seems that *jāmi* was a common term for brother and sister, it was later used for sister and then came to connote "a woman" and lastly it became a term for general relationship, though its original meaning of "mate" seems to be preserved in the word *Jāmātṛ* (son-in-law).

In post-Vedic times the word *jāmi* was used to denote female relations of a man—especially his wives and daughters-in-law, though in a few places it may include such relations as daughter and sister. This post-Vedic usage also confirms the conjecture that *jāmi* meant a "mate".

The word *jāmi* for sister came into disuse and the word oftenest used in both the Vedas is *svasṛ* (स्वसृ).

The dawn and night are called each other's sisters,

स्वसा स्वस्रे ज्यायस्यै योनिमारैक् अपैत्य अस्याः प्रतिचक्ष्येव ।
व्युच्छन्ती रश्मिभिः सूर्यस्य अञ्जि अङ्क्ते समनगा इव व्राः । Rv. 1.124.8

(The sister makes place for the elder sister and looking at her goes away. Shining forth with sunbeams, she smears herself with ointment like women going to a marriage ceremony).

किं भ्राता सत् यद् अनाथं भवाति किमु स्वसा यन्निर्ऋतिः निगच्छात् ।
कामं ऊता बह्वे तद्रप्यामि तन्वा मे तन्वं सं पिपृग्धि । Rv. 10.10.11
न वा उ ते तन्वा तन्वं सं पपृच्यां पापमाहुर्यः स्वसारं निगच्छात् ।
अन्येन मत् प्रमुदः कल्पयस्व न ते भ्राता सुभगे वष्ट्येतत् । Rv. 10.10.12

(Yami—what (use) is a brother when there is no protector or what (use) is sister when destruction impends? Impelled by desire I prate this much; mingle thou thy body with me.) (Yama—I may not mingle my body with thine. They call him wicked who should approach his sister; with another than me do thou plan your joy. Thy brother wants not that, oh! fortunate one).

पूषणं तु अजाश्वं उपस्तोषाम वाजिनम् । स्वसुर्यो जार उच्यते । Rv. 6.55.4

(Pūṣan, whose horses are goats, the mighty, who is called the lover of his sister—him we laud)

भद्रो भद्रया सचमानः आगात् स्वसारं जारो अभ्येति पश्चात् । Rv. 10.3.3

(The blessed one came with the blessed lady; the lover (Agni) follows his sister (Uṣas).)

Pūṣan is a form of the sun, so is Agni and as they follow the dawn they are called her lovers and she their sister.

The word *svasṛ* means brother and sister in dual.

Cf. above p. 115 स्वसारा जामी (Rv. 1.185.5)

समान्या नियुते दूरे अन्ते ध्रुवे पदे तस्थतुः जागरूके ।

उत स्वसारा युवती भवन्ती आहु ध्रुवाति मिथुनानि नाम । Rv. 3.54.7

(Partners ! though parted, with far distant limits, on one firm place both stand watchful ; and being young for ever the two brother and sister speak to each other).

Special mention is made of brotherless sisters or women.

अभ्रातेव पुंस एति प्रतीची गर्तारुक् इव सनये धनानाम् । Rv. 1.124.7

(She goes towards men like a brotherless sister, mounting her car as it were to gather riches)

अमूर्या यन्ति योषितो हिरा लोहितवाससः । अभ्रातर इव जामयः तिष्ठन्तु हतवर्चसः । Av. 1.17.1

(These women who go about clad in red garments like sisters without brothers (gadding about) let these stand still with their glory destroyed)

4. *Terms for affinies*

(a) Lover and bridegroom :—

The following terms are used for lover or bridegroom. *Marya* (मर्य), *jāra* (जार), *vara* and *jyeṣṭhavara* (वर, ज्येष्ठवर), *vadhūyu* (वधूयु) and *saṁbhala* (सम्भल). The word *marya* is used once as an adjective of *pati* (पति = husband) and the word *sambhala* appears to have the connotation " best man " in some verses.

The word *jāra* occurs in connection with the word *kanā* and *yoṣā*. It means lover. It does not seem to have the meaning bridegroom, though in one verse it is fouud juxtaposed to the word *vara*.

आ जामिः अत्के अव्यत भुजे न पुत्रः ओण्योः ।

सरन् जारो न योषणां वरो न योनिमासदम् । Av. 9.101.14

(The friend has wrapped him in his robe as a son is wrapped in his parents' arms. He went like a lover to a dame or like a groom to his nuptial bed).

जारः कनीनां पतिर्जनीनाम् । Rv. 1.66.8

([Agni] is the lover of maidens and the husband of dames.)—

The contrast is between the word *jāra* and *pati*, and *kanā* and *jani*. *Jani* is a grown up married woman and *kanā* is a young unmarried girl. *Jāra* was never the husband.

प्रयन्तं इत् परि जारं कनीनां पश्यामसि नोपनिपद्यमानम् । Rv. 1.152.4

(We look on him the lover of maidens, always advancing, never falling down). The sun is called the lover of Uṣas, his own sister and as such is also called स्वसुः जारः (cf. above p. 117) Rv. 10.3.3 and 6.55.4-5.

अभि त्वा योषणो दश जारं न कन्यानूषत । Ṛv. 9.56.3

(Ten maids long for you as a girl longs for her lover)—said of the Soma plant and the ten fingers.

अभि गावो अनूषत योषा जारमिव प्रियम् । Ṛv. 9.32.5

(The cows have gone to him with longing as a young woman goes to her darling lover)

The feminine form *jāriṇī* (जारिणी) occurs but once in Rgveda. Neither the word *jāra* nor *jāriṇī* are found independently in Atharvaveda. There is only one place in which the word *jāra* is found in Atharvaveda but it is a hymn identical to one in Rgveda.

यद् आदीध्ये न दविषाण्येभिः परायद्भ्यः अव हीये सखिभ्यः ।

न्युप्ताश्च बभ्रवो वाचं अक्रत एमि इत् एषां निष्कृतं जारिणीव । Ṛv. 10.34.5

(When I resolve not to play with these, I am left alone by my friends who depart; when the brown ones (dice) thrown on board have rattled, like a fond maiden. I seek the place of meeting)

Neither the word *jāra*, nor the word *jāriṇī* have any bad meaning attached to them. Even the gods are called the *jāras* of this or that. In one place the *Ṛtvik* (ऋत्विक) is called the lover of the sacrifice—ऋत्विजं अध्वरस्य जारम् । Ṛv. 10.7.5. It seems as if young maidens had lovers before they married. When the custom fell into disuse the word also disappeared (in Atharvaveda), to appear later as a word of abuse.

Only in one place does the word *jāra* appears in connection with a married woman.

यस्ते भ्राता पतिर्भूत्वा जारो भूत्वा निपद्यते ।

प्रजां यस्ते जिघांसति तमितो नाशयामसि । Ṛv. 10.162.5

(Who sleeps with you in the form of your brother, husband or lover, and kills your progeny, him I drive from here)

Marya also means lover, but in some places it seems to have the meaning bridegroom.

सूर्यो देवीं उषसं रोचमानां मर्यो न योषाम् अभ्येति पश्चात् । Ṛv. 1.115.2

(As a lover follows a young woman so does the sun follow the shining goddess Uṣas)

मर्य इव युवतीभिः समर्षति सोमः कलशे शतयाम्ना पथा । Ṛv. 9.86.16

(As a lover comes hastening to the loved ones so does Soma hasten to the goblet with a hundred roads)

मर्यो न शुभ्रः तन्वं सृजानः अत्यो न सृत्वा सनये धनानाम् ।

वृषेव यूथा परि कोशं अर्षन् कनिक्रदत् चम्वोः आ विवेश । Ṛv. 9.96.20

(Like a fair youth decorating his body, a courser rushing to the gain of riches, like a steer to the herds, so hastening with a roar he has passed into the pitcher). Here the reference is to the young men in a bridal procession who adorn their body.

मर्यश्रीः स्पृहयद्वर्णः अग्निः नाभिमृशे तन्वा जर्भुराणः । Ṛv. 2.10.5

(Agni, with bridegroom's splendour and lovely colour may not be touched when his form is fury)

कियती योषा मर्यतो वधूयोः परिप्रीता पन्यसा वार्येण । Ṛv. 10.27.12

(How many a maid is loved by her suitor on account of the splendid gifts ?)

[In this verse *marya* is synonymous to *vadhūyu* (वधूयू) = bride wisher, suitor].

स पितराऽत्विये सृजेथां माता पिताच रेतसो भवाथः ।

मर्य इव योषां अधि रोहय एनां प्रजां कृण्वाथां इह पुष्यतं रयिम । Av. 14.2.37

(Unite, you two parents, the two things that are seasonal. Ye shall be mother and father of seed. As a male, a female (a lover, a maid) do thou mount her. Make progeny, enjoy wealth here).

In this passage from Atharvaveda *marya* seems to have been used to denote a male. The word *maryaka* is used in this sense in Ṛgveda.

परि ष्वजन्ते जनयो यथा पतिं मर्यं न शुन्ध्युं मघवानं ऊतये । Ṛv. 10.43.1

(As wives embrace their lord, the comely bridegroom, so they compass Maghavân about that he may help). In this passage *marya* (मर्य) is synonymous to *pati* (पति) (husband).

The word *vara* is used for lover or bridegroom. It seems to have been applied to all unmarried young men of the bridegroom's party, the groom himself being distinguished as the best or the oldest *Vara* (ज्येष्ठवर). It seems to have been used in a classificatory sense. In some verses the *jyeṣṭha vara* is the bridegroom, in others he is called *Vadhūyu*, to distinguish him from the *varas*..

यत् मन्युः जायां आवहत् संकल्पस्य गृहात् अधि ।
के आसन् जन्याः के वराः क उ ज्येष्ठवरः अभवत् । Av. 11.8.1

When Manyu carried his wife from the house of Saṃkalpa, who were the bridesmen, the grooms and the eldest groom (bridegroom)?

तपश्चैव आस्तां कर्म च अन्तर्महति अर्णवे ।
ते आसन् जन्याः ते वराः ब्रह्म ज्येष्ठवरः अभवत् । Av. 11.8.2

(Tapa and Karma were at the bottom of the great ocean. They were the bridesmen, they were the grooms and Brahma was the eldest groom (bridegroom))

सोमो वधूयुः अभवत् अश्विनास्ताम् उभा वरा । Ṛv. 10.85.9

(Soma was the bridegroom (*vadhūyu*) while the two Aśvins were the grooms (*vara*))

भगस्य नावमारोह पूर्णां अनुपदस्वतीम् ।
तया उपप्रतारय यो वरः प्रतिकाम्यः । Av. 2.36.6
आ क्रन्दय धनपते वरं आमनसं कृणु ।
सर्वं प्रदक्षिणं कुरु यो वरः प्रतिकाम्यः । Av. 2.36.5

(Ascend thou the boat of Bhaga, full, unfailing; with that cause to cross over a suitor who is according to thy wish)
(Shout to him, O Lord of Riches; make a suitor hither-minded. Turn the right to every one who is a suitor according to thy wishes)

In these verses—a magical incantation for finding a husband for a maid—the word *vara* stands for a groom or a husband.

आ नो अग्ने सुमतिं संभलो गमेत् इमां कुमारीं सह नो भगेन
जुष्टा वरेषु समनेषु बल्गुरोषं पत्या सौभगमस्तु अस्यै । Av. 2.36.1

(Unto our favour, O Agni, may a wooer come, to this girl, along with fortune; enjoyable [is she] to suitors, agreeable at festivals; be there quickly, good fortune for her with a husband).

The word *vara* is used in plural. The one who becomes the husband is *jyeṣṭha vara*.

वरा इव एतद् रैवनासो हिरण्यैः अभि स्वधाभिः तन्वः पिपिश्रे । Ṛv. 5.60.4

(They, like groomsmen, sons of wealthy houses have with their golden *svadhā* decked their bodies) Like *marya* the varas also deck themselves gaily.

Vadhūyu (वधूयु) is synonymous with the word *vara* (वर) and *marya* (मर्य)

एरोळाशं च नो घसो जोषयासे गिरश्चनः वधूयूरिव योषणाम् । Ṛv. 3.52.3

(Consume our sacrificial cake, accept our hymns of praise like a lover who accepts his bride)

Sambhala (सम्भल) is a word used for one who comes to woo the bride on behalf of the suitor or *vara*. He is the go-between, when a marriage is being arranged. During the marriage ceremony he is made to bear the brunt of the sins of omission and commission.

आ नो अग्ने सुमतिं संभलो गमेत् । Av. 2.36.1

(O Agni let a wooer come to favour us)

ब्रह्मणस्पते पतिमस्यै रोचय चारु संभलो वदतु वाचमेताम् । Av. 14.1.31

(O Brahmaṇaspati make her like her husband, (may the husband shine for her). May the *Sambhala* speak sweetly to her)

यत् दुष्कृतं यत् शमलं विवाहे वहतौ च यत्
तत् सम्भलस्य कम्बले सृज्महे दुरितं वयम् । Av. 14.2.66

(Whatever sin, whatever uncleanliness in the ceremony or in the bridal procession, that sin do we wipe on the blanket of the *sambhala*)

संभले मलं सादयित्वा कम्बले दुरितं वयम्
अधूम यज्ञियाः शुद्धाः प्रण आयूंषि तारिषत् । Rv. 14.2.67

(Having settled the defilement on the *sambhala*, the sin on the dress, we have become worshipful and cleansed. May he extend our lifetime)

While the word *vara* is used for all men in the bridal train—all men belonging to the family of the groom—the word *janya* (जन्य) appears to be used for the relatives of the bride. *Janya* means belonging to the family, thus Agni is called जन्यः (Rv. 10.91.2.) but as opposed to *varas* it may have the meaning of bride's relatives.

स्रजं कृण्वानो जन्यो न शुभ्वा रेणुं रेरिहत किरणं ददभ्वान् । Rv. 4.38.6

(gay like a bridesman, wearing a garland, sniffing the dust champing the rein that holds him)

के आसं जन्याः के वराः । Av. 11.8.1
ते आसं जन्याः ते वराः । Av. 11.8.2

(Who were the bridesmen, who were the groomsmen? They[1] were the bridesmen, they were the groomsmen)

[1] Both the words वर and are found in the Marathi *Varhāḍi* (वऱ्हाडी) and *jānosā* or *janwasā* (जानोसा or जानवसा). *Varhāḍi* are people in a marriage party, irrespective of whether they be bride's or groom's relations. Primarily it means those on the groom's side. *Jānosā* is the place where the marriage party puts up. This again is used for both the houses (जन्य + वस).

(The words *sajanya* aud *pratijanya* (सजन्य and प्रतिजन्य) are used as opposite pairs denoting, "one's own", and "that belonging to a rival." अप्रतीतो जयति सं धनानि प्रतिजन्यानि उत या सजन्या। Rv. 4.50.9. (Unopposed he conquers the wealth of the strangers (rivals) and of his own subjects)

जन्य and सजन्य are kinsmen. प्रतिजन्य are enemies. In special cases *janya* is used for bride's kinsmen. Nowhere does it mean non-kinsmen as Grassmann suggests.[1]

Though there are so many words for a lover or a bridegroom there is only one word for the bride. It is *vadhū* (वधू). *Vadhū* is one who is carried away from her father's house to that of her husband.

मा नः पाशं प्रति मुचः गुरुः भारो लघुः भव।

वधूमिव त्वा शाले यत्र-कामं भरामसि। Av. 9.3.24

(Fasten thou not on us the fetters. A heavy burden, become thou light. O house, like a bride, we carry thee where we will). [Said to a house which is given as a gift to Brahmans].

यां कल्पयन्ति वहतौ वधूमिव विश्वरूपां हस्तकृतां चिकित्सवः।

सा आरात् एतु अपनुदाम एनाम्। Av. 10.1.1

(She who the adepts have adorned like a bride in a bridal procession, she of many forms, handmade, let her go far off; we push her away) [spoken to a doll used in witchcraft.]

या ओषधयो या नद्यो यानि क्षेत्राणि या वना।

ताः त्वा वधु प्रजावतीं पत्ये रक्षन्तु रक्षसः। Av. 14.2.7

(What herbs, what streams, what fields, what forests there are—let these O bride, defend from the demon thee, possessing progeny, for thy husband)

ये पितरा वधूदर्शा इमं वहतुं आगमन्।

ते अस्यै वध्वै संपत्न्यै प्रजावत् शर्म यच्छतु॥ Av. 14.2.73

(Those ancestors who have come to this wedding, in order to see the bride, let them bestow on this bride, with her husband protection accompanied by progeny).

---

[1] Grassmann gives the meaning "belonging to other people" to the word *janya* in two or three places. This interpretation is however not required in those places.

When a bride is chosen, the blessing of the anscestors is required.[1]

In later literature as also in modern usage the term *vadhū* means not only bride but also daughter-in-law. She is spoken of as the bride of this or that family or clan. In a famous passage, Sītā is reminded of the greatness of the house in which she is married (तेषां वधूस्त्वमसि नन्दिनि पार्थिवानां येषां कुलेषु सविता च गुरुर्वयं च. O joy-giver you are the vadhū (bride-daughter-in-law) of *those kings* whose household is presided over by the sun and myself). This meaning also seems to have been attached to the word *vadhū* as found in Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda. In the marriage hymn in both the books :

गृहान् गच्छ गृहपत्नी यथासो । Av. 14.1.20 Ṛv. 10.85.26

(Go to the homesteads. Be the mistress of the house).

सुमङ्गली प्रतरणी गृहाणां सुशेवा पत्ये श्वशुराय शम्भूः ।

स्योना श्वश्रै प्र गृहान् विश इमान् । Av. 14.2.26

(Of excellent omen, extender of houses, very propitious to thy husband, bringing blessing to thy father-in-law, pleasant to thy mother-in-law, do thou enter *these houses*).

The *vadhū* is asked to enter the houses of the clan in which she is given in marriage. She is not only the *vadhū* of the clan, but is the *vadhū* of the many *varas* who came to take her away, and is the wife of the *jyeṣṭha vara.*

There is only one word for husband, and that is *pati* (पति). It means ruler or husband.

क्षेत्रस्य पते मधुमन्तं ऊर्मिं धेनुरिव पयो अस्मासु धुक्ष्व । Ṛv. 4.57.2

(Oh lord (spirit) of the field, as the cow yieldeth milk so pour for us the wave that beareth honey (sweetness), [Hymn chanted at the first ploughing of the season].

वास्तोष्पते प्रतिजानीहि अस्मान् स्वा वेशो अनमीवो भवानः । Ṛv. 7.54.1

(Lord of the house acknowledge us, give us happy entrance and let us be without disease) spoken to the spirit of the house before entering it.

[1] In the Maratha country, there is a ceremony called " seeing the face of the daughter-in-law " (suna-mukha=सुनमुख). When the bride is brought home, she is taken to the elders of the bridegroom and there the parents and uncles and aunts of the groom view the bride and bless her. The above reference in Av. seems to point to this custom when not only the living elders but also the dead ancestors are supposed to come to view the bride and bless her.

यो विश्वस्य जगतः प्राणतः पतिः यो ब्रह्मणे प्रथमो गा अविन्दत । Rv. 1.101.5
(He who is the master of all the living (breathing) world, who first obtained cows for the Brahman).

In the same manner different gods are called the master of wealth or the world. *Pati* also means husband.

घोषायै चित् पितृषदे दुरोणे पतिं जूर्यन्त्या अश्विनौ अदत्तम् । Rv. 1.117.7
(To Ghoṣā, aging in her father's dwelling, ye gave a husband Aśvins).

तद् दु वामजिरं चेति यानं येन पती भवथः सूर्यायाः । Rv. 4.43.36
(Well known is that quickly moving chariot, whereby you became the husbands of Sūryā)[1].

Pati Vedana (पति वेदन obtaining of a husband) is an important magical performance in order to secure a husband for a girl. Aryaman, Bhaga and Dhātar are the deities that help a maiden to get a husband.

अयमायाति अर्यमा पुरस्ताद् विपितस्रुपः
अस्याः इच्छन् अग्रुवै पतिं उत जायां अजानये । Av. 6.60.1
(Here comes Aryaman with his hair hanging disarranged in front. He comes wishing for a husband for this spinster and a wife for the bachelor).

भगस्य नावमारोह पूर्णामनुपदस्वतीम् ।
तया उपप्रतारय यो वरः प्रतिकाम्यः ॥ Av. 2.36.5
(Mount this boat of Bhaga—The boat which is full and never failing, and with it cause to float here a husband (a suitor) whom you love).

अमाजुरश्वित् भवथो युवं भगो । Av. 10.39.3
(You two (Aśvins) are like Bhaga to an unmarried girl). Ghoṣā, an old maid, calls on Aśvins to help her find a husband and says that they are like the god Bhaga (the usual husband bringer) to her).

सोमजुष्टं ब्रह्मजुष्टं अर्यम्णा संभृतं भगं
धातुर्देवस्य सत्येन कृणोमि पतिवेदनम् । Av. 2.36.2
(Fortune enjoyed by Soma, by Brahma brought together by Aryaman; with the truth of divine Dhātar (in truth by Dhātar.) I perform the *pati vedana* (husband finding ceremony)).

[1] In Ṛgveda there are many references to Sūryā having been won by Aśvin twins. Only in the *Sūryā Sūkta* Rv 10.85., is there a reference to Sūryā being given in marriage to Soma. It is a late version, but even there occurs the verse सोमो वधूयुः अभवत् आश्विनास्ताम् उभा वरा: ।

The word पति (*pati*) is found compounded with other words. *viśpati*, *jāspati*, *gṛhapati* and *dampati* are important among such words.

Jāspati (जास्पति) was the chieftain of the family or clan. *Viśpati* (विश्पति) was the chieftain, probably not of one family but of many families and clans connected together. Though Agni as the lord of the house is called *Viśpati*.

देवान् वा यच्चकृमा कच्चिदागः सखायं वा सदमिज्जास्पतिं वा ।
इयं धीर्भूया अवनायमेषां यावा रक्षत पृथिवी नो अभ्वात् ॥ Rv. 1.185.8

(What sin we have at any time committed against gods, friends, our house's chieftain, thereof may this hymn be expiation. Protect us Heaven and Earth from danger).

विश्पतिः "Lord of the clan or household", is applied to men as well as gods. In Atharvaveda the word denotes the headman or king of a clan, elected by the clan-members.

His duties and privileges can be seen from the following.

रेरिह्यते युवती विश्पतेः सन्

Said of Agni the household fire.

(Agni) licks (kisses) the young women, being the lord of the household).

सस्तु माता सस्तु पिता सस्तु श्वा सस्तु विश्पतिः ।
ससन्तु सर्वे ज्ञातयः । Rv. 7.55.5

(Let the mother sleep, let the father sleep, let the dog sleep, let the master of the clan (head of the clan) sleep, let all the clans-people sleep).

This is the prayer of a lover come to meet his beloved at night :

अयमस्तु धनपतिर्धनानां अयं विशां विश्पतिरस्तु राजा । Av. 4.22.3

Let this man be the lord of riches and let this king be the head of clans).

Gṛhapati (गृहपति) is the master of a single household. Not every man was a *gṛhapati*. The eldest married male was apparently the *gṛhapati*. Agni (fire) as the lord of the household is also called *gṛhapati*.

1) गृहपति, 2) गृहपत्नी. 1) The master of the household, said of men and gods. (Agni), 2) The mistress of the household.

गृहपति like विश्पति was a position to be coveted. Not every married man was a गृहपति or विश्पति.

प्रातः प्रातर्गृहपतिर्नो अग्निः सायं सायं सौमनसस्य दाता । Av. 19.55.4

(Morning after morning Agni is the lord of our house. Evening after evening giver of well-willing).

अभि नो नर्यं वसु वीरं प्रयत दक्षिणं । वामं गृहपतिं नय । Ṛv. 6.53.2.
(Bring to us wealth as wished by men and a master of house who is manly and freehanded with the liberal meed)

पुष्टिरसि पुष्ट्या मा समङ्धि गृहमेधी गृहपतिं मा कृणु । Av. 19.31.13

(You are prosperity. Anoint me with prosperity. You are household sacrificer; make me master of the household)

सोदक्रामत् सा गार्हपत्ये न्यक्रामत् । गृहमेधी गृहपतिर्भवति य एवं वेद ।
Av. 8.10.2

(She ascended, she descended in the household fire. He who sacrifices in the house (गृहमेधी) becomes the master of the house when he knows this)

पत्नी त्वमसि धर्मणा अहं गृहपतिस्तव । Av. 14.1.51

(Thou art my wife according to the ordinance; I am the lord of your house)

गृहपति seems to be a term narrow in its application. It seems to mean the master of one household, and corresponds to the word *dampati* (दंपती) treated later.[1] Both जास्पति and विश्पति are wider in their application. जा means family or people or kindred, and seems to refer not merely to one household but to a group of kindred comprising many households. विश् means people in general, though formerly it must have been a small community of families related by blood or marriage ties.

In Atharvaveda and Ṛgveda the hymns, which are prayers on behalf of a chieftain or a king, contain the word *viśpati* विश्पति or *viśāmpati* विशांपति, who is also called *rājan* राजन् or king in some hymns. From विश्पति or जास्पति the head of one clan or family, seems to have evolved the leadership of several clans विशांपति, राजन् or ग्रामणी[2]

Dampati (दम्पति) is the same as *Gṛhapati* and means primarily the lord or master of the house. It came to mean in dual, also the married pair, husband and wife. In Atharvaveda, as in later literature, the word is found to mean husband and wife."

---

[1] गृहान् गच्छ गृहपत्नी यथासो points out to a more extended control of *gṛhapati*.

[2] In later literature the king is always associated with his *amātya* or minister. In Ṛgveda the word *amātya* means "one who belongs to the household." स नो वेदो अमात्यम् अग्नी रक्षतु सर्वतः । Ṛv. 7.15.5 (On all sides, may Agni guard our household folk). Possibly one of the *amātyas* became an adviser of the king. In *viśpati* and his *amātyas* we have the beginning of the later institution of the king and his ministers.

विश्वासां त्वां विशांपतिं हवामहे । सर्वासां समानं दम्पतिं भुजे ॥ Rv. 1.127.8
(We invoke you in order to enjoy—you the lord of all, common to all, the master of the household)

तं त्वा सुशिप्र दम्पते सोमैर्वर्धयन्ति अत्रयः । Rv. 5.22.4
(Thee, strong-jawed, Lord of the household, the Atris exalt with their lands)

मेने इव तन्वा शुम्भमाने दम्पतीव क्रतुविदा जनेषु । Av. 2.39.2
(Like (two) women adorning their bodies, like wise masters among men [the Aśvins]).

In the following passages *dampati* is used in the sense of "husband and wife."

गर्भे नु नौ जनिता दम्पती कर् देवः त्वष्टा सविता विश्वरूपः Rv. 10.10.5
Av. 18.1.5
(The god Tvaṣtar, Savitar of all forms, our generator, made us in the womb man and wife)

मा विदन् परिपन्थिनो य आसीदन्ति दम्पती । Rv. 10.85.52, Av. 14.2.11.
(Let not the waylayers who lie in ambush find the married pair)

Dampatī meant primarily the master of the household. The function of the master could not be fulfilled by an unmarried man. A *dampatī* was associated in his religious and secular duties with his mate and hence by association and extension the word *dampatī* came to mean a married pair.

Another word which denotes a pair, though not necessarily a married pair, is *Mithuna* (मिथुन). It is not used as a relationship term in either Rgveda or Atharvaveda, but it deserves mention as it is a very significant relationship term in Marathi, meaning a marriageable pair.[1] Just as a brother and sister were *jāmis* in Rgveda, so cross cousins are *mithunas* in Marathā country today. In Rgveda Heaven and Earth, besides being called *jāmi Svasārā* (jāmi geschwister), are also called *mithunā*.

ते मायिनो ममिरे सुप्रचेतसो जामी सयोनी मिथुना समोकसा । Rv. 1.144.4
(They, wise and of surpassing skill have laid out the pair (*mithunā*) of *jāmis* who have the same birth and the same house)

दिवा पृथिव्या मिथुना सबन्धू यमीः यमस्य बिभृयादजामि । Rv. 10.10.10
(With heaven and earth paired though closely related—Yami must bear the un-*jāmi*-like conduct of Yama).

[1] The Marathi term is *mehuṇā* m. and *mehuṇī* (मेहुणा and मेहुणी). The cross cousins, (who generally marry) call each other by these terms.

वपूंषि जाता मिथुना सचेते तमोहना तपुषो बुध्न एता । Rv. 3.39.3
(The Aśvins, both of the same sex are called *Mithunā*, a pair).

भर्तृ—From *bhar* (भर्) to protect, means the protector or lord. The word in classical times is used for husband. In Rgveda it is used only once in the sense of husband.

प्रथिष्ट यामन् पृथिवी चिदेषां भर्तेव गर्भं स्वमिच्छवो धुः । Rv. 5.58.7
(The earth has spread herself at their coming and they as husbands have with power impregnated her).

(b) Bride and wife.

Four words are used for "wife". The terminology for a female relation being in this one case richer than that for the corresponding male relation. These words are *janī* (जनी), *menā* (मेना), *jāyā* (जाया) and *patnī* (पत्नी).

Jani or *janī* (जनि or जनी) means woman, wife. The word is most used in the sense of woman. *Jani* is the opposite of *kanā*. *Janī* is the grown up married woman, while *kanā* is an unmarried girl.

जारः कनीनां पतिर्जनीनाम् Rv. 1.66.8
(Lover of maids, husband of dames).

इमा नारीः अविधवाः सुपत्नीः आञ्जनेन सर्पिषा संविशन्तु
अनश्रवः अनमीवाः सुरत्नाः आरोहन्तु जनयः योनिमग्रे । Rv. 10.18.7 ; Rv.
(These women, not widows, well-spoused, touch themselves with ointment and butter; tearless, without disease, with good treasures, let the women ascend, first to this place). Here *janī* (जनी) is a synonym of *nārī* (नारी) = woman.

परिष्वजन्ते जनयो यथा पतिम् । Rv. 10.43.1
(As wives embrace their husband).
In compound words *janī* (जनी) is lengthened to *Jāni* (जानि) and invariably means 'wife'.

उभे धुरौ वह्निरापिप्दमानः अन्तर्योनेव चरति द्विजानिः । Rv. 10.101.11
(Between two poles the horse goes pressed closely, as in his dwelling moves the doubly wedded. (*Dwijāni*))

ओ षु प्रयाहि वाजेभिः मा हृणीथाः अभि अस्मान् महान् इव युवजानिः ।
Rv. 8.2.19
(Come hither swift with gifts of wealth—be not angry with us as an old man with a youthful bride (*Yuvajāni*))

एयमागन् पतिकामा जनिकामोऽहमागमम् । Av. 2.30.5

(Here comes she wishing for a husband, here come I wishing for a wife (*janīkāma*))

The verb *Janīyajā* means " to wish for a wife " :

. जनीयन्तो नु अग्रवः पुत्रीयन्तः सुदानवः । सरस्वतं हवामहे । Rv. 7.96.4

(Like unmarried men wishing for a wife and liberal men wishing for sons do we call upon Sarasvata)

Janivat (जनिवत्) means " possessed of wives. "

नहि त्वादिन्द्रो वस्यो अन्यदस्ति अमेनां चित् जनिवतः चकर्थ । Rv. 5.31.2

(O Indra, nobody is greater than you. You give wives to the wifeless).

Menā (मेना) also means woman and is used to denote wife in some verses as the one quoted above, where अमेन means " one without wife ".

मेने इव तन्वे शुम्भमाने । Rv. 2.39.2

(Like women adorning their bodies (Aśvins)).

Neither *janī* nor *menā* are used as relationship terms. *Menā* means a woman and is used but once to mean a wife. *Janī* and words derived from it are used frequently to convey the meaning wife. The two words which denote " a wife " are *jāyā* and *patnī*.

Jāyā means everywhere the wedded wife and is connected with the word *pati* in most verses.

जायेव पत्यः उशती सुवासा उषा हस्रेव नि रिणीते अप्सः । Rv. 1.124.7.

(Like a loving wife to her husband, Uṣas smiling and well-attired unmasks her beauty).

अनुव्रतः पितुः पुत्रो मात्रा भवतु संमनाः । जाया पत्ये मधुमतीं वाचं वदतु शन्तिवान् । Av. 3.30.2

(May the son follow the advice of the father, may he be of one accord with the mother, may the wife speak words sweet and peaceful to her husband)

जाया पत्या हुत्तेव कर्तारं बन्धु ऋच्छतु

([O kṛtyā] go to your maker like an abandoned wife (going back to her father's house))

त्वष्टा जायामजनयत् त्वष्टा अस्यै त्वां पतिं ।

त्वष्टा सहस्रमायूंषि दीर्घमायुः कृणोतु वाम् । Av. 6.78.3.

(Tvaṣṭar made this woman and made you a husband for her. May he make you two longlived). Here the word *jāyā* seems to mean woman.

Jāyā means one who gives birth to children ; that this quality of the wife was greatly prized, is but natural as begetting children was the boon asked again and again of gods.

पत्नी (*patnī*) is the fem. form of *pati* and has two connotations, just like the word *pati*. It means 1) mistress, ruler and 2) wife.

अभिपश्यन्ती वयुना जनानां दिवो दुहिता भुवनस्य पत्नी । Rv. 7.75. 4.

(Looking upon the works of mortals, daughter of Heaven, mistress of the world)

अव स्थूमेव चिन्वती मघोनी उषा याति स्वसरस्य पत्नी । Rv. 3.61.4

(Letting her reins drop downwards comes the liberal Uṣā, mistress of the household)

The word *adhipatnī* (अधिपत्नी) is similarly used.

द्यावापृथिवी दात्राणां अधिपत्नी ते मा अवताम् Av. 5.24.3

(Heaven and Earth are overlords (*adhipatnī*) of givers. Let them favour us)

Viśpatnī (विश्पत्नी), unlike *Viśpati*, seems to be the head of the family. Though as applied to the goddess of fertility, it may mean the goddess who rules the whole clan.

अस्ति इदम् अधिमन्थनं अस्ति प्रजननं कृतं ।

एतां विश्पत्नीमा भर अग्निं मन्थाम पूर्वथा । Rv. 3.29.1

(Here is the gear for quirling, here tinder made ready for the spark. Bring the matron (*Viśpatnī*). We will quirl Agni in ancient fashion)

या सुबाहुः स्वङ्गुरिः सुषूमा बहुसूवरी ।

तस्यै विश्पत्न्यै हविः सिनीवाल्यै जुहोतन । Rv. 2.32.7

(She who has lovely arms, lovely fingers, who bears easily and has given birth to many children, to her, to Sinīvālī, mistress of the world, give sacred gifts)

Patnī was the wife of the master of the house. It would seem as if she was the chief wife among many cowives. From the marriage hymn and from the word *jyeṣṭha vara*, it seems that in Rgvedic times only the eldest son married, as is the custom at present among the Nambutri Brahmans of the Malabar coast. The girl, who married this man, became the mistress of the house (*gṛhapatnī*) and ruled over all.

गृहान् गच्छ गृहपत्नी यथासो वशिनी त्वं विदथमा वदासि ।

Rv. 10.85.26; Av. 14.1.20

(Go to the houses so that you become the mistress of the house ; thou having control shalt speak unto the assembly)

यथा सिन्धुर्नदीनां साम्राज्यं सुषुवे वृषा
एवा त्वं सम्राज्ञी एधि पत्युः अस्तं परेत्य ॥ Av. 14.1.43 Rv. 10·85·45 with slight change

सम्राज्ञी एधि श्वशुरेषु सम्राज्ञी उत देवृषु
ननान्दुः सम्राज्ञी एधि सम्राज्ञी उत श्वश्वाः ॥ Av. 14.1.44 Rv. 10.85.46 with slight change

As the mighty river (Sindhu) won the supremacy of the streams, so be thou supreme, having gone away to thy husband's home (Av. 14.1.43), Be thou supreme among fathers-in-law, supreme also among brothers-in-law , be thou supreme over sister-in-law, also over mother-in-law.

These verses suggest especially by the analogy with rivers that the bride was to be the first lady of the household.

इह प्रजां जनय पत्ये अस्मै सुज्यैष्ठयो भवतु पुत्रस्त एषः । Av. 14.2.24

(Here give birth to progeny for this husband; may this son of thine be the eldest).

A boy is made to sit in the bride's lap while these words of blessings are uttered. This seems to mean that just as you are getting a husband who is the eldest of all his brothers, so may a son be born to you, who shall be eldest among his brothers and inherit all.

The cowife, was the thorn in the side of many a married woman. The magic incantations against a cowife testify to the strong feelings by their uncompromising cruelty. One of the reasons, why a wife was disliked by the husband, was her barrenness and there is an incantation, probably meant for a cowife, in which barrenness is wished for a rival.

इमाः यस्ते शतं हिराः सहस्रं धमनीरुत । तासां ते सर्वासां अहं अश्मना बिलं अप्यधाम् । Av. 7.35.2

परं योनेरवरं ते कृणोमि मा त्वा प्रजाभिभूत मोत सूतुः
अस्वं त्वा अप्रजसं कृणोमि अश्मानं ते अपिधानं कृणोमि । Av. 7.35.3

(These hundred veins that are thine, and the thousand tubes of thine, of them I have covered the opening with a stone.)

The upper part of thy womb I make the lower, let there not be progeny to thee, nor birth. I make thee barren, without progeny; I make a stone thy cover.)

इमां खनामि ओषधिं वीरुधं बलवत्तमाम् । यया सपत्नीं बाधते यया संविन्दते पतिम् । Rv. 10.145.1

सपत्नीं मे परा धम पतिं मे केवलं कुरु । Rv. 10.145.2

(I dig this mightiest of creepers, by which the rival wife is destroyed and the husband is secured. (O plant!) blow away my rival, make the husband only mine).

The following incantation is a charm against a rival, but it also appears to be a kind of ceremony performed for a dead girl. It appears to me that it is an incantation against a *dead* cowife, by a newly married woman. A dead rival could be as harmful as a living one and required as drastic a treatment as a living one. This interpretation seems to be borne out by the use of the word *pitṛ* used in a double sense (fathers and manes).

भगमस्य वर्च आदिष्यत् अधि दक्षादिव स्रजम्
महाबुध्न इव पर्वतो ज्योक् पितृषु आस्ताम् ॥ Av. 1.14.1
एषा ते राजन् कन्या वधूर्नीयतां यम
सा मातुर्बध्यतां गृहे अथो भ्रातुरथो पितुः ॥ Av. 1.14.2
एषा ते कुलपा राजन् तामु ते परि दद्मसि
ज्योक् पितृषु आसातां आ शीर्ष्णः शमोप्यात् ॥ Av. 1.14.3
असितस्य ते ब्रह्मणा कश्यपस्य गयस्य च
अन्तः कोशमिव जामयः अपि नह्यामि ते भगम् ॥ Av. 1.14.4

(1) Her portion, splendour have I taken to myself, as from off a tree a garland, like a mountain with a great base, let her sit long with the fathers (manes).

(2) Let this girl, O king, be shaken as a bride to thee, Yama. Be she bound in her mother's house, in her brother's, also in her father's.

(3) She is thy housekeeper, O king; we commit her to thee; she shall sit long with the fathers until the covering in of her head.

(4) With the incantations (Brahmaṇā) of Asita, Kaśyapa and of Gaya I shut up thy portion, as women do what is within a box).

The fourth verse reminds one of a usage by which an amulet bearing the image of the dead cowife is worn round the neck by women in the Maratha country.

Pātijuṣṭā (पतिजुष्टा) is the wife loved by her husband, as opposed to a wife who is abandoned by the husband.

देवोयः.....पृथिवीं उपक्षेति
.....अनवद्या पतिजुष्टेव नारी। Rv. 1.73.3

(This god (Agni) who dwells on this Earth like a blameless woman loved by her husband.)

As against this picture of a happy home where the wife is loved, we have some words which show other conditions. These words are परिवृक्ता, पत्यानुत्ता, पतिद्विष्, पतिरिष् and पतिघ्नी (*Parivṛktā*, *Patyānuttā*, *Patidviṣ Patirip* and *Patighnī*).

तृष्टासि तृष्टिका विषा विषातक्यसि ।

परिवृक्ता यथासस्यृषभस्य वशा इव । Av. 7.113.2

A favourite rival is sought to be ousted from her position with the help of a magical plant which is pungent and poisonous. The first line is addressed to the plant.

(Pungent art thou, pungent one, poisonous, a poisonous one art thou. Thou (the rival) mayest be avoided, as a barren cow of a bull).

परिवृक्तेन पतिविद्यमानद् । Rv. 10.102.11

(Like one forsaken she has obtained a husband)

शूद्रकृता राजकृता स्त्रीकृता ब्रह्मभिः कृता ।

जाया पत्या नुत्तेव कर्तारं बन्धृच्छतु । Av. 10.1.3

(Whether this कृत्या is) Śūdra-made, king-made, woman-made or made by a Brahman, like a *wife expelled by her husband* let her go to her maker as a relation.)

कुवित्पतिद्विषो यतीरिन्द्रेण संगमामहै । Rv. 8.91.4

("Shall we not, hated by our husbands, unite with Indra" (said by Apālā who was hated and consequently turned out by her husband)).

अभ्रातरो न योषणो व्यन्तः पतिरिपो न जनयो दुरेवाः

पापासः सन्तः अनृता असत्या इदं पदमजनता गभीरम् । Rv. 4.5.5

(Like youthful women, without brothers, straying, like *women who cheat their husbands*, of evil conduct they who are full of sin, untrue, unfaithful, they have engendered this abysmal station).

Apatighnī and *adevṛghnī* (अपतिघ्नी अदेवृघ्नी) are those wives who do not bring a' out the death of their husband and brother-in-law soon after marriage. The bride as a stranger enters the clan of her husband. Nobody knows whether the presence of the stranger shall bring good or bad luck and so it is prayed, that the young wife (bride) should be of good omen. [1]

[1] At the present day, if a person in the husband's clan falls ill and dies within a year or two after a bride comes home, it is considered a fault of the bride and she is sometimes driven out of the house.

अघोरचक्षुः अपतिघ्नी स्योना शग्मा सुशेवा सुयमा गृहेभ्यः । Av. 14.2.17
((be thou) Not-evil-eyed, not husband killer, pleasant, helpful, very propitious, of easy control for the house)

अदेवृघ्नी अपतिघ्नी इह एधि शिवा पशुभ्यः सुयमा सुवर्चाः । Av. 14.2.18
(Not brother-in-law slayer, not husband slaying, be thou here; propitious to the cattle, of easy control and splendid)

वीरसूर्देवृकामा सं त्वयैधिषीमहि सुमनस्यमाना । Av. 14.2.17
(bearing male children, loving the brother-in-law, with favouring mind we thrive with thee)

(c) Others

Devṛ (देवृ) is the word which is used for the younger brother-in-law in later literature and in most of the modern dialects. In Rgveda and Atharvaveda also the word must be taken to mean a younger brother-in-law. It was the eldest son of the family who married first. It was conceived a great sin, to steal this birth right of the eldest born. The bridegroom was called the *jyeṣṭha vara*, so *devṛ* must be a term applied to the others,—the younger clan-brothers and own-brothers of the husband. The bride is expected to be auspicious to her brothers-in-law and to love them. In one place a widow is said to be the concubine of a younger brother-in-law.

को वां शयुत्रा विधवा इव देवरं मर्यं न योषा कृणुते सधस्थ आ । Rv. 10.40.2
([O Aśvins] who brings you to bed as a widow her [younger] brother-in-law? (who brings you home) as a young girl her lover)?[1]

Didhiṣu (दिधिषु) means a lover, but is not used in the same way as the words *jāra* or *marya* etc. *Didhiṣu* is the man who is the suitor of a once married woman—a woman who is either divorced by her husband or who is a widow.

उदीर्ष्व नारि अधि जीवलोकं गतासुमेतं उपशेषे एहि
हस्तग्राभस्य दिधिषोः तव इदं पत्युः जनित्वं अभिसंबभूथ । Rv. 10.18.8
Av. 18.3.2

(Go up, O woman, to the world of living; thou liest by this one who is dead. Come, to him who grasps your hand, your suitor (second husband). You have entered into the relationship of the wife of (this) husband).

---

[1] For *adevṛghnī* and *devṛkāmā* (अदेवृघ्नी and देवृकामा) cf. above.

Devṛ seems to be derived from the verb *div*, to play or joke, and means *a relation who is on terms of familiarity and joking with the bride*. This is as a matter of fact the rôle of the young brother-in-law in present day India.

This verse follows the one in which the widow is described as lying by the corpse the her husband. Is this *didhiṣu* the same as a *devṛ* (cf. above p. 135 को वां शयुत्रा विधवेव देवरं etc.)?

In one verse Rv. 6.55.5 the God *Pūṣan* (Agni) is called the husband of his own mother and the lover of his own sister.

मातुर्दिधिषुमब्रवम् स्वसुर्जारः शृणोतु नः। Rv. 6.55.5

(We called to the mother's husband. Let his sister's lover hear us.)[1]

Vidhavā (विधवा) is a woman who has lost her husband. It is derived from the root *vidh* to separate, to hurt or to pierce. The masculine form *Vidhava* (विधव) seems to have been used once. But the final *a* is changed to *ā* to suit the metre.

युवं ह कृशं युवमश्विना शयुं युवं विधन्तं विधवामरुध्यथः। Rv. 10.40.8

(Kṛśa and Śayu you protect, ye two Aśvins. You assist the bereaved worshipper.)

The fem. form *Vidhavā* was used more frequently and came to mean a widow, with the later false derivation *vi+dhava.*

को वां शयुत्रा विधवेव देवरं.....कृणुते। Rv. 10.40.2

who brings you to bed as a widow her younger brother-in-law ?

कस्ते मातरं विधवामकार्षीत। Rv. 4.8.12

(Who made thy mother a widow ?)

इमा नारीरविधवा सुपत्नीराञ्जनेन सर्पिषा सं स्पृशन्ताम्।

अनश्रवो अनमीवाः सुरत्ना आ रोहन्तु जनयो योनिमग्रे॥ Rv. 10.18. 7

Av. 12.2.31

(Let these women, not widows, well spoused, touch themselves with ointment, with butter. Tearless without disease, with good treasures, let the wives first ascend to the place)

It seems that only *avidhavā* (अविधवा, not-widow) could wear ornaments and use ointment, and that a widow was deprived of these in the Vedic times as is the custom today.

Patiloka (पतिलोक) means the clan or the world of the husband. On her marriage a girl is said to go from the *pitṛloka* (पितृलोक — the father's house) to the *patiloka.*

उशतीः कन्यला इमाः पितृलोकात् पतिं यतीः। Av. 14.2.52.

---

[1] Cf. p. 93. Vahni the priest, generates Vahni the fire, through his daughters the Araṇis. We have here a relationship puzzle which makes Vahni (fire) his own father, grand-father, son and grandson and which makes Araṇis his wife, mother and sister,

(These yearning girls going from their father's house to their husband's).

There seems to have been a ceremonial severing of the bonds that bound her to her father's house and binding her to her husband's clan.

[1] उर्वारुकमिव बन्धनात् प्रेतो मुञ्चामि नामुतः। Av. 14.1.17

प्रेतो मुञ्चामि नामुतः सुबद्धां अमुतस्करम्। Av. 14.1.18.

(Like a gourd from its bond, from here (the father's house) I release, not from there.)

(I release (her) from here, not from yonder. I make her well bound yonder (her husband's house)).

After this ceremonial binding, the girl belonged to her husband's clan in life as well as in death. The following verse points out to an ancient pre-vedic usage by which a woman was cremated with her husband.

इयं नारी पतिलोकं वृणाना निपद्यते उप त्वा मर्त्य प्रेतम्

धर्मं पुराणं अनुपालयन्ती तस्यै प्रजां द्रविणं च धेहि। Av. 18.3.1

(This woman choosing her husband's world lies down by thee that are departed, O mortal, continuing the ancient practice. Give her wealth and progeny)

Later in the ceremonial a cow is substituted for the woman to guide the man on his way to the ancestors, and the woman is allowed to live and choose a mate. Even when the husband is dead she belongs to the *patilōka*. Only a man from her husband's clan, can claim her.[2] If she marries outside the husband's clan she has to perform certain rites by which union with the world of the new husband is ensured.

या पूर्वं पतिं विन्त्वा अथ अन्यं विन्दते अपरम्

पञ्चौदनं च ता अजं ददातो न वि योषतः॥ Av. 9. 5. 27

समानलोको भवति पुनर्भुवा अपरः पतिः

यः अजं पञ्चौदनं दक्षिणाज्योतिषं ददाति॥ Av. 9.5.28

(She who having gained a former husband, then gains another later one—if they (both) shall give a goat with five rice dishes, they shall not be separated.)

(The later husband comes to have the same world with his re-married spouse when he gives a goat with five rice dishes, with the light of sacrificial gifts.)

---

[1] उर्वारुक = Marathi वाळुक.

[2] Cf. P. 135 above. उदीर्ष्व नारि etc.

श्वशुर—श्वश्रू—ननान्दृ.

श्वशुर-श्वश्रू—(*Śvaśura* and *Śvaśrū*) the father and mother of the husband (bride speaking) occur in both Rgveda and Atharvaveda.

ममेदह श्वशुरो ना जगाम । Rv. 10.28.1

(My father-in-law has not come here)

सम्राज्ञी श्वशुरे भव सम्राज्ञी श्वश्र्वां भव । Rv. 10.85.46

(Be thou supreme over father-in-law and mother-in-law.)

सम्राज्ञी एधि श्वशुरेषु, सम्राज्ञी उत देवृषु

ननान्दुः सम्राज्ञी एधि सम्राज्ञी उत श्वश्र्वाः । Av. 14.1.44

(Be thou supreme among fathers-in-law, supreme among brothers-in-law, supreme over sister-in-law, supreme over mother-in-law.)

श्वशुराय शम्भूः स्योना श्वश्र्वै प्र गृहान् विश इमान् । Av. 14.2.26

(Wealful to thy father-in-law, pleasant to thy mother-in-law do thou enter these houses)

स्योना भव श्वशुरेभ्यः । Av. 14.2.27

(Be thou pleasant to the father-in-law.)

ये सूर्यात्परि सर्पन्ति स्नुषेव श्वशुरादधि । Av. 8.6.24

(They that creep away from the sun, as a daughter-in-law away from her father-in-law)

The plural use of the word *Śvaśura* (श्वशुर) suggests that it was used for the father of the husband, as also for his uncles and grandfather.

The form of the benediction suggests that as soon as the (eldest ?) son is married, he and his wife become the master and the mistress of the joint household even in the life-time of the father-in-law.

The last example shows that the custom prevalent in India today, by which a daughter-in-law has to avoid her father-in-law, was well established in Atharvaveda times. There is one verse in which the word *Śvaśrū* (श्वश्रू) is used of wife's mother. It appears to be a later usage. Primarily these terms apply to the husband's father and mother and have then been applied also to bride's father and mother in the classical and modern period.

द्वेष्टि श्वश्रूरप जाया रुणद्धि न नाथितो विन्दते मर्डितारम् । Rv. 10.34.3

(The wife holds me aloof, the mother-in-law (wife's mother) hates me. The wretched man finds no comforter.)

Nanāndṛ (ननान्दृ)=[From *nanda* to give pleasure] the sister of the husband, occurs but once in each Veda in the marriage hymn.

ननान्दरि सम्राज्ञी भव । Rv. 10.85.46
ननान्दुः सम्राज्ञी एधि । Av. 14.1.44
(Be thou supreme over your sister-in-law).

Snuṣā (स्नुषा)—The daughter-in-law.

वृषाकपायि रेवति सुपुत्रे आदु सुस्नुषे ।
धसत्त इन्द्र उक्षणः प्रियं काचित्करं हविर्विश्वस्तादिन्द्र उत्तरः । Rv. 10.86.13
(O *Vṛṣākapāyi*, wealthy, blessed with good sons and good daughters-in-law, Indra will eat thy bulls, thy dear oblation, that effecteth much. Supreme is Indra over all)

ये सूर्यात्परि सर्पन्ति स्नुषेव श्वशुरादधि । Av. 8.6.24
(Who creep away from the sun as the daughter-in-law from her father-in-law.)

Syāla (स्याल)—Wife's brother.

अश्रवं हि भूरिदावत्तरा वां विजामातुः उत वा घा स्यालात् । Rv. 1.109.2
(For I have heard that you give wealth more freely than either son-in-law or the brother of the wife.)

Jāmāṭṛ (जामातृ) means son-in-law. The word is used a few times in Rgveda and is not found in Atharvaveda.

At two places Vāyu or Marut is called the *jāmāṭṛ* of Tvaṣṭṛ. The exact meaning cannot be fixed in this context, as the words are simply used as a term of address of Marut. In Rv. 8.2.20 occurs the following verse.

मो ष्वद्य दुर्हणावान् सायं करदारे अस्मत् । अश्रीरिव जामाता ॥
(Be not evil towards us like an inauspicious son-in-law. Do not go away from us in the evening)

The word vijāmāṭṛ appears to have the same meaning as the word *jāmāṭṛ* (just like the words *jā*, *prajā* and *vijā*).

अश्रवं हि भूरिदावत्तरा वां विजामातुः उत वा घा स्यालात् । Rv. 1.109.2
(I have heard that you two (*Indrāgnī*) are better givers than either a son-in-law or a brother-in-law (wife's brother).[1]

[1] We need not infer from this quotation that the son-in-law generally paid money to secure a bride. The verse immediately preceding this says कि त्वाद्यं मनसा वस्यः इच्छन् इन्द्राग्नी शास उत वा सजातान् । न अन्यः युवत्प्रमतिरस्ति.....। Rv. 1.109.1 (wishing for wealth I looked in spirit for kinsmen or for brothers Indrāgnī; No providence but yours alone is with me.). The poet says that his bloodkin has failed him. Next he turns to his affinies—the son-in-law and the brother-in-law—and finds that they are not much help either and so turns to Indra and Agni for help.

The word *Syāla* (स्याल) occurs but once in Rgveda in the quotation given above. It probably means wife's brother though from the context the meaning cannot be definitely fixed.

5. *Other words denoting relationship in general.*

There are a number of words which denote some kind of relationship, but whose meaning cannot be fixed definitely. Such words are सजात and सजात्य, and ज्ञाति, पि आप्य and आपित्वम्, जामि, जामित्व, नाभि, बन्धु and दायाद.

Sajāta (सजात) = born together; means brother or kinsman.

सजातान् उग्र इह आ वह ब्रह्म च अप चिकीहि नः। Av. 1.10.4

(Call your brothers (other gods) and pay attention to our prayers)

सजातानां श्रेष्ठच आ धेहि एनम्। Av. 1.9.3

(Give him highest rank among his kinsmen (? brothers))

सजातानां असो वशी। Av. 19.46.7

(Be controller of your kinsmen.)

सजात्य (sajātya) means kinship.

सजात्यं अश्विनोश्वारु नाम। Rv. 3.54.16

(The kinship of Aśvins is indeed beautiful)

अस्ति हि वः सजात्यं रिशादसो देवासो अस्ति आप्यम्। Rv. 8.27.10

(O Gods, destroyers of foes, I have kinship and close alliance with you). Here *sajātya* is coupled with the word *āpyam*.

The negative form *asajātya* is found once.

इयं वां अह्वे शृणुतं मे आश्विना पुत्राय इव पितरा मह्यं शिक्षतम्।
अनापिः अज्ञाः असजात्या अमतिः पुरा तस्या अभिशस्तेरवस्पृतम्॥
Rv. 10.39.6

(I am calling on you, listen to me Aśvins. Help me as parents help their son; without wealth, without *āpi*, without *jñas* and without *sajātya* am I. Save me from this curse before it is too late).

Here सजात्य is coupled with *jñas* and *āpi*.

The word *jñas* occurs once in Rgveda.

वि ह्वयं मनसा वस्य इच्छन् इन्द्राग्नी जास उत वा सजातान्। Rv. 1.109.1

(Longing for wealth I looked round, Oh Indrāgnī, for brothers (*sajātā*) and for kinsmen (*jñas*)).

Ajñās as already noted occurs coupled with *anāpi* and *asajātya*.

The word *jñāti* occurs a few times to denote relations or kinsmen.

यमयोश्चिन्न समा वीर्याणि ज्ञाती चित्सन्तौ न समं पृणीतः। Rv. 10.117.9

(Even twins do not have the same strength [equal strength] even those two who are *jñātis* do not give equally (liberally)).

Jñāti seems to mean men belonging to the same kin-group in this context.

नीललोहितं भवति कृत्यासक्तिर्व्यज्यते । एन्धते अस्या ज्ञातयः पतिर्बन्धेषु बध्यते ।
Rv. 10.85.28 ; Av. 14.1.26

(Her hue is blue red; the clinging fiend is driven away. The kinsmen of the bride thrive, the husband is fast bound in bonds.)

प्रीता इव ज्ञातयः कामं एति अस्मै देवासः अव धूनुता वसु । Rv. 10.66.14

(Like pleased kinsmen, come at our desire, O Gods, and shake down treasures on us)

ससन्तु सर्वे ज्ञातयः सस्तु अयम् अभितः जनः । Rv. 7.55.5

(Let all the kinsmen sleep, let all people around sleep.)

Jñātimukha (ज्ञातिमुख) is a person who has taken on the appearance of a kinsman. In Atharvaveda reference is made to the souls of the Dasyus who commingle with the ancestors of a man, and taking on the likeness of those ancestors try to eat the offerings given to the dead:

ये दस्यवः पितृषु प्रविष्टा ज्ञातिमुखाः अहुतादश्चरन्ति
परापुरो निपुरो ये भरन्ति अग्निस्तान् अस्मात् प्रधमाति यज्ञात् । Av. 18.2.28

(Those barbarians, who having entered among the fathers (manes), having faces of the kinsmen, go about, eating what is not sacrificed, who bear Parāpura and Nipura—Agni shall blast them from this sacrifice)

The words *āpi*, *āpyam* and *āpitvam* occur very often. The first two words are very frequently used in Rgveda. The word *āpi* (आपि) occurs but once in Atharvaveda and that too in a verse which is identical with a Rgveda verse. The word occurs in conjunction with other words like सखा, सजात्य etc. Whether it means just friendship or some kind of kinship is not quite certain from the context, though the latter appears to be probable.

आ हि ष्मा सूनवे पिता आपिर्यजति आपये सखा सख्ये वरेण्यः । Rv. 1.26.3

(For here a father for his son, a kinsman for his kinsman and a friend for his choice friend doth worship)

ते अग्ने देवेषु आप्यम् । Rv. 1.105.13

(O Agni, your kinship is with gods)

नासुत्वेरापिः न सखा न जामि । Rv. 4.25.6

([Indra] is neither *āpi* nor friend, nor *jāmi* of him who does not press the Soma juice).

अग्निं मन्ये पितरं अग्निं आपिं अग्निं भ्रातरं सदमित्सखायम् । Rv. 10.7.3

(I regard Agni as my father, my *āpi*, brother and eternal friend)

उपसद्याय मीळ्हुष आस्ये जुहुता हविः । यो नो नेदिष्ठम् आप्यम् । Rv. 7.15.1

(Offer oblations in the mouth of the bounteous god whom we must serve—he who is our nearest *āpi*).

मवेः आपिः नो अन्तमः । Ṛv. 8.45.18

(Become our nearest Āpi.)

इदं सवितर्विजानीहि षड् यमा एक एकजः

तस्मिन् ह आपित्वमिच्छन्ते य एषां एक एकजः । Av. 10.8.5

(Know this Savitṛ six are the twins, one singly born. They claim *relationship* in him who among them is singly born)

The word *anāpi* occurs once together with *asajātya* and *ajñā*. (cf. p. 140).

The word *jāmi* has been dealt with while discussing the words *bhrātṛ* and *svasṛ*, (p. 109). Besides meaning brother and sister, the word also shows general relationship. The word *jāmi* occurs together with its opposite *ajāmi* and also alone. Its derivatives *jāmya*, *jāmitva* and *jāmivat* are also found.

त्वं जामिः जनानां अग्ने मित्रो असि प्रियः । Ṛv. 1.75.4

(You are the kinsman (*jāmi*) of mankind, O Agni, and their dear friend.)

एवेदेषा पुरुतमा दृशे कं न अजामिं न परि वृणक्ति जामिम् । Ṛv. 1.124.6

(She, verily, exceeding vast, debareth from her sight neither kin (*jāmi*) nor stranger (*ajāmi*))

अव स्थिरा तनुहि यातूनां जामिं अजामिं प्र मृणीहि शत्रून् । Ṛv. 4.4.5

(Slacken the bows of the demon-driven, destroy our foes whether kinsmen (*jāmi*) or strangers [*ajāmi*])

एना मन्दानो जहि शूर शत्रून् जामिं अजामिं मघवन् अमित्रान् । Ṛv. 6.44.17

(Intoxicated therewith, O Hero Maghavan, kill our foes, the unfriendly—be they kinsmen or strangers)

यश्च सापत्नः शपथो जाम्याः शपथश्च यः

ब्रह्मा यन्मन्युतः शपात् सर्वं तन्नो अधस्पदम् । Av. 2.7.2

(Both the curse that is a rival's and the curse that is of a kinswoman, what a priest from fury may curse—all that be underneath our feet)

उतो असि अबन्धुकृत् उतो असि नु जामिकृत

उतो कृत्याकृतः प्रजां नड्डमिव आ छिन्धि वार्षिकम् । Av. 4.19.1

In this verse *abandhukṛt* is the opposite of *jāmikṛt* thus *bandhu* and *jāmi* become synonymous.

तद्वो जामित्वं मरुतः परे युगे पुरू यच्छंस अमृतास आवत । Ṛv. 1.166.13

(Such is our kinship (*jāmitva*) that in former times you came to our help and gave us much)

माकिर्नं एना सख्या वि यौषुस्तव चेन्द्र विमदस्य च ऋषेः

विद्मा हि ते प्रमतिं देव जामिवत् अस्मे ते सन्तु सख्या शिवानि । Ṛv. 10.23.7

(Never, may this bond of friendship between the Ṛṣi Vimada and you, be severed, O Indra. We know thou carest for us as a kinsman (*jāmivat*). With us, O God, be thy auspicious friendship.)

The word *jāmiśaṁsa* occurs in Atharvaveda and means "the curse of kinsmen."

क्षेत्रियात् त्वा निर्ऋत्या जामिशंसाद् दुहो मुञ्चामि वरुणस्य पाशात्
अनागसं ब्रह्मणा त्वा कृणोमि शिवे ते द्यावापृथिवी स्ताम्। Av. 2.10.1

(From Kṣetriya, from perdition, from imprecation of kinsmen, from hatred do I release thee, from Varuṇa's fetter; free from guilt I make thee by my incantations; be heaven-and-earth both propitious to you.)

Bandhu (बन्धु) is another word denoting relationship of some kind. It is derived from the root *bandh* to bind, and means relations by marriage in some modern dialects, but in Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda no such distinction in meaning between and other words like *jāmi* can be traced.

वरुणेन प्रत्यर्थिता भ्रातृव्या मे सबन्धवः
असूर्तं रजो अप्यगुस्ते यन्तु अधमं तमः। Av. 10.3.9

(Driven forth by Varuṇa my enemies [who are my] kinsmen have gone unto unlighted space. Let them go to lowest darkness)

द्यौर्मे पिता जनिता नाभिरत्र बन्धुर्मे माता पृथिवी महीयम्। Ṛv. 1.114.33

(The sky is my father, my generator and close kin (नाभि). This great earth is my mother, my *bandhu* (kinswoman))

नासत्या मे पितरा बन्धुपृच्छा। Ṛv. 3.54.16

(The Nāsatyas are my parents kind to kinsmen—[Enquiring after kinsmen])

वयं हि त्वा बन्धुमन्तं अबन्धवः विप्रासः इन्द्र येमिम। Ṛv. 8.21.4

(We the kinless worshippers have drawn thee hither, O Indra of numerous kin.)

छिनत्त्यस्य पितृबन्धु पराभावयति मातृबन्धु। Av. 12.5.43

((She) severs his paternal connections, causes to perish his maternal kin.)

Nābhi (नाभि) also means kin or relation.

स्वसार ईं जामयो मर्जयन्ति सनाभयो वाजिनं ऊर्जयन्ति। Ṛv. 9.89.4

(The *jāmi* sisters who are *sanābhi* (close kin?) brighten him and strengthen the vigorous racer)

The ten fingers are called *jāmi* and *sanābhi*

प्रजां त्वष्टा वि ष्यतु नाभिमस्मे अथा देवनामप्येतु पाथः। Ṛv. 2.3.9

(May Tvaṣṭṛ lengthen out our progeny and kindred and may they reach the place which gods inhabit)

यो नः सोम अभिदासति सनाभिः यश्च निष्ट्यः
अप तस्य बलं तिर । Av. 6.6.3

(Whoever, O Soma, shall assail us, of the same kindred and also a stranger—draw away his strength)

विश्वे देवा वसवो रक्षतेममुतादित्या जागृत यूयमस्मिन्
मेमं सनाभिरुत वान्यनाभिर्मेमं प्रापत् पौरुषेयो वधो यः । Av. 1.30.1

(O all ye gods, ye Vasus, protect this man, likewise you Ādityas, watch over him ; him let not one related, nor one unrelated—him let not any deadly weapon of men reach)

Jāmi and *ajāmi*, *āpi* and *anāpi*, *sanābhi* and *anyanābhi*, *sajāta* and *asājātyā*, *jñas* and *ajñas* are pairs meaning kin and not kin. Their connotation, so as to differentiate the one from the other, cannot be fixed. [1]

The words दाय (*dāya*) and दायाद (*dāyāda*), which are so frequent in later legal literature, occur but once or twice in Rgveda and Atharvaveda.

Dāya occurs once in Rgveda and means portion or reward.

श्रमस्य दायं विभजन्ति एभ्यो यदा यमो भवति हर्म्ये हितः । Rv. 10.114.10

(These—horses—when the driver is settled at home, receive the reward—allotted portion—of their exertion)

The word *dāyāda* occurs twice in Atharvaveda in an identical context. The meaning is not quite clear, except that some general kinship is indicated. It may also mean heir.

न ब्राह्मणो हिंसितव्योऽग्निः प्रियतनोरिव
सोमो हि अस्य दायाद इन्द्रोऽस्याभिशस्तिपाः । Av. 5.18.6

(The Brahman is not to be killed, like fire, by one who holds himself dear ; for Soma is his Dāyāda (? heir), Indra his protector against imprecations)

अग्निर्वै नः पदवायः सोमो दायाद उच्यते । Av. 5.18.14

(Agni verily our guide, Soma is called our heir)

It is proposed to discuss, especially from the sociological point of view, the various kinship terms enumerated above and also some others, in the next part of this paper.

---

[1] Āpi = one who is near, therefore a neighbour. In sanābhi, *nābhi* is home or house ; *sanābhi* = belonging to the same household. *Anyanābhi* = belonging to another household. *Jña* means to know ; therefore *jñāti* may mean acquaintances. *Sajāta* are those who are born together and are therefore brothers. *Bandhu* are those who are bound together, are therefore affinies. Such meanings can be derived from the meanings of the root, but their actual use shows that one word was often used for another and all generally mean " kindred. "

Annals of the
Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute

VOL. XX] APRIL-JULY 1939 [PARTS III-IV

THE KINSHIP USAGES AND THE FAMILY ORGANISATION IN RGVEDA AND ATHARVAVEDA. *

BY

IRAWATI KARVE

The kinship terminology as described in the previous parts of this paper[1] gives us an idea of the Vedic family and the marriage institution. The two Vedas present us with a social process and not a static picture of well established customs. It is a creative period in world history. A pastoral people from the north came into India and met there a people who had learned the art of agriculture and settled life. Side by side with culture contact there must necessarily have taken place a thorough mixing of the bearers of these two cultures. The bearers of the pastoral culture came in successive waves, pushing the earlier

* Prof. S. C. Sarkär, (Patna College) Patna, has discussed the question of the Vedic usages in his very stimulating and well documented book " Some aspects of the earliest social history of India." I find that the conclusions reached by him are in many cases similar to those which I am putting forward in this paper. In my investigations however I am covering the same ground from a different angle. I wished to study the social organisation of different provinces in India and found that the " Vedic component " is well established in many provinces with certain changes. In order to trace the history of the social usages, it is necessary to go to the source and get as clear a picture of that age as possible. In my paper I am concerned primarily with the interplay of social privileges and obligations of different members of the family towards each other and how these are reflected in the kinship terminology used.

1 Cf. Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XX, pp. 69-96 and 109-144.

settlers in front of them. It was not one single wave which swept over India. We have to think of something like the "Völkerwanderung" of the centuries immediately before and after the beginning of the Christian era, sweeping over Europe to destroy the Roman Empire. In fact the "Wanderlust" of the northern pastorals seems to have begun about 2000 B. C. and affected the ancient civilizations of Babylonia, Persia, Crete, Egypt and India. It was thus a cultural invasion which went on for centuries, had time to mix with and absorb the elements of the civilization existing in India and gave rise to a new culture complex. The two Vedas give primarily the picture of the social organisation of the new comers–the pastorals ; but we get a glimpse of a social organisation in the process of modification, transformation and reorientation due to culture contact. Change in environment may bring about a change in social institutions, but contact with other cultures and other people is a far more potent agent of social change than mere migration. The mixture of races and the mingling of diverse culture-elements resulted in a peak-period in the history of India. The beginnings of this period are witnessed in the record of Vedic literature.

A detailed study of the kinship terminology of the two Vedas shows that though both the books reveal a common pattern, there is a greater differentiation in terminology and a more modern ethical orientation towards sex–relations in the Atharvaveda.

The Vedic Kinship usages

In both the Vedas the smallest social unit is the family, which is made up of the father or the grand-father, his wives, sons and grandsons with their wives and unmarried daughters and grand-daughters. There are a number of references to a larger circle of relations and neighbours with certain privileges and rights, but these larger units never usurp the functions of the family. When a family became too big, it split into different households which still recognised the bloodbond and formed a small settlement of people related by the ties of blood.

The Vedic family was governed by the eldest male, who ruled supreme over all the members of his household. The father ruled over his sons and grandsons and had *access sexually to* his daughters and daughters-in-law and sisters. Whether this control

extended over the mother also cannot be inferred from the Vedic texts. Indra is said to have killed his father,—subsequent tradition says he married his mother [1]—and another god is called his mother's lover. [2] Persian tradition has it, that a widow has to take the permission of her son if she wants to remarry, and the Purāṇas tell the story of Vajra, a son of Śrī Kṛṣṇa inheriting some of the wives of his father. [3]

This custom, even if present at an earlier date, was getting out of practice in the Ṛgvedic time. The mother-son taboo was firmly established at a very early date, though one finds certain references of the incestuous relations between the son and mother in Purāṇic tales [4]

The next taboos to be established were those between the father-in-law and the daughter-in-law, and the father and the daughter. A Vasiṣṭha sage prays for own children and in the course of the prayer asks the god to forgive him if he secures the wish of his heart in a foolish way. [5] What this fool's way could have been, can be guessed from the story in the Purāṇas which tells that the king Mitrasaha killed the only son of Vasiṣṭha by name Śakti. Śakti's wife gave birth to a son years after this incident. Apparently Vasiṣṭha perpetuated his race by having intercourse with his own daughter-in-law and in consequence prayed to the gods to forgive his sin. The Vedic hymn is eloquent on the difference between an adopted son, however virtuous he might have been and an own son. This conjecture is supported by practices mentioned elsewhere among other Indo-European people. Thus Schrader mentions that in Russia it was a practice upto a very recent date for a father-in-law to excrise his right over the daughter-in-law.

There is however no direct evidence in Ṛgveda or Atharvaveda about this right being exercised by the father-in-law. There

---

[1] Vedic Mythology, A. A. Macdonell p. 57, Ṛv. 4. 18. 12.

[2] Ṛv. 6. 55. 5.

[3] Mbh. XVI. 7.

[4] Some Aspects of the earliest social history of India, by S. C. Sarkar, pp. 139, 141.

[5] The Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XX 89.

is direct mention of the custom by which, upto modern days, the daughters-in-law avoided the presence of the father-in-law. In a hymn in Atharvaveda demons are said to flee (and hide) away before sunlight like daughters-in-law from the presence of the father-in-law. [1]

The Vedic references as regards the father–daughter relation are not rare and show beyond any doubt that an incestuous union of this kind was well recognised under certain circumstances. Mention is made of Prajāpati and his daughter. [2] There is also a reference to the birth of Agni, who is said to be a child born of a union between father and daughter. [3] If the daughter was an only child the father had a right to get a son from her before she could hope to marry and settle into her own home. The later tradition has it, that a man having an only daughter had the right to her first son after her marriage with a suitable man. It would seem as if this custom was a modification of a custom by which a girl had first to fulfil her duties to the father's family. The *putrikā–putra* (daughter's son) in ancient times must have been the son born of the union of the daughter with her father.

This custom also explains why a brotherless girl was abhorred by Vedic people. The brotherless girl was bound to provide a son to her father and was therefore never a virgin. The brotherless girl came to be a symbol of an immoral woman. The Persian tradition is exactly similar to the Vedic tradition. There is definite mention of a father marrying his own daughter. [4] Different kinds of marriages are recognised. The best among them is that when a wife is a pādashāh (ruling, privileged) wife when a man marries, with the parents' consent, an unbetrothed maiden out of a family, and she and her children remain his in both worlds. "A Yūkan or ayūk (only child) wife is an only child married with the parents' consent and her first child belongs to them; after its birth she becomes a pādashāh wife. She is entitled to one third of her parents' property for giving up the

1 Av. 8.6.24, Cf. Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XX, p. 138.

2 Rv. 10. 91. 7. cf. Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XX, p. 94.

3 Rv. 3. 31. 1. cf. Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XX. pp. 93-94.

4 Sacred Books of the East, F. Max. Müller Vol. XVIII p. 397.

child."[1] The pādashāh marriage is the normal form of marriage and corresponds to the marriage as described in the Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda, where the bride is blessed in the words " be the ruling queen " (samrājñī, the Sanskrit equivalent of pādashāh). The other form is not mentioned because the father-daughter relation was not a real marriage and after a daughter had fulfilled the duty to her father she could be married in the usual way. The Persian record of the marriage of the next of kin also suggests that the yūkān marriage was a later modification of an old custom by which a father had the right to generate a son from his own daughter. The yūkān system of marriage is the same as the putrikā-putra system in India. Especially interesting is the fact that a woman went through the pādashāh form of marriage after having fulfilled duty in a yūkān form of marriage. The father has access to all the women in the family but gradually this right was restricted in the case of the daughter-in-law and the daughter so that ordinarily he had no access to them. Only when all the other means of perpetuating the line had failed, could the father exercise this right and adopt his daughter's son (putrikā-putra) as his own son. Still later the custom was so modified that he had the right to the son of his daughter and her husband. This process of gradually establishing a taboo between father and daughter goes on almost before our eyes in the Vedic literature.

This practice would explain very well the indeterminate connotation for the relationship terms for " son ", existing in Ṛgveda. The terms for *son* and *grandson* are the same, the terms for *grandfather* and *father* also appear to be the same in the Ṛgveda, (cf. pp. 84, 70, *Annals B. O. R. I.* Vol. XX) one ascendent generation and one descendant generation being recognised without further differentiation.

The sexual relation between father and daughter was disallowed at a very early stage and the taboo was firmly established in the time of the compilation of the Atharvaveda.

The successive establishment of the mother-son, father-in-law and daughter-in-law, and father-daughter taboos restricted the sex relations of the consanguinous Vedic family in such a way, that sex relations were allowed only among family-members be-

[1] Ibid. Vol. V pp. 142-143 foot-note.

longing to the same generation. From a system of kinship terms which did not distinguish between relatives of different generations, we arrive at a system which differentiated between different generations, i. e. a typical classificatory system as will become clear later.

In Rgveda and Atharvaveda there are many terms for father, the most common being *pitā*. This term and the term *mātā* for mother seem to have been used in a classificatory sense, i. e. they denoted a number of relatives besides the own father and mother. There is ample evidence of such use of the terms at a later date, though in the Vedas no direct evidence is available. The superlative forms of the two terms *pitṛtama* and *mātṛtama*, as also the device of qualifying the terms by the adjectives *janitā* and *janitrī* meaning birth-giver, seem to point out to devices by which the own father and mother are distinguished from other fathers and mothers. The custom of the incestuous union of the father and daughter introduced a factor by which a clear distinction between different generations becomes impossible, in as much as a child of such a union would be grand-child and own child at the same time. Remote relatives of the ascendent generations are mentioned by the device of qualifying the terms *pitā* and *mātā* by such adjectives as *pratna*, *mahā* or *mahī*, all meaning old or ancient. No real kinship term for the second ascendent generation is available. These terms are first coined in the Atharvaveda. The terms are established as pointed out above due to a differentiation in different generations, established by the first group of taboos. Another factor which contributed to this distinction is the growth of the cult of ancestors. Every ancestor received oblations and it is not a matter of indifference whether the offerings are given to one's own father or grandfather or to ascendents of still remote generations. So, in Atharvaveda, though there is a little uncertainty in some passages, about the meaning of the words like *pitāmaha* or *prapitāmaha* which are applied of all ancestors, there are other passages in which the father, the grandfather and the great-grandfather each receives a separate name; i. e. a separate Kinship term is coined for each.

The Vedic family is the patriarchal family and the male relations receive much more attention than do the female relations. The dead female relations did not receive the offerings of the food

as did the dead male relations and so the terms for ascendent female relations parallel to grand-father and great-grand-father are not found at all.

The terms for descendant generations are for the same reasons not differentiated to such a degree as the terms for the ascendent males. The taboos between different generations made it easy to distinguish between sons and grandsons, and we have in Atharvaveda the terms *putra* and *pautra* or *napāt*. Originally *napāt* was the term used for all descendant male relations. At one place in Ṛgveda the term *pranapāt* is found, but its meaning is not quite clear. In Atharvaveda the term *napāt* comes into disuse as an ordinary kinship term or is used for grandson, the most common term for son being *putra*. The term for great-grand-child does not occur, possibly because neither the sex taboos, nor the cult of the ancestor-worship necessitated such a distinction for the descendant generations.

A common term is employed to denote father and mother. The dual form of the nom. case of the word *pitā* is *pitarā* and of *mātā* is *mātarā* and these are used to denote the parents. The word *pitā* in plural denotes all departed ancestors. Later on only the dual of *pitṛ* is used for parents.

The word for brother is *bhrātā* and that for sister is *svasā*. These words are in use in one form or other upto the present day in all Indo-European dialects of India. There is however another word for brothers and sisters. The word is used reciprocally for brother and sister and occurs in that connotation in Ṛgveda only. The brother and sister are called each other's *jāmi*. In later Ṛgvedic passages the word is used for the sister only, in Atharvaveda the word does not occur in independent passages. In the later literature the word denotes female relations in general, while its derivative the word *jāmātṛ*, meaning daughter's or sister's husband, is used in all modern dialects. The Ṛgvedic use of the term *jāmi* is significant. It is not so much a Kinship term as a term showing the relationship between two relatives, namely, brother and sister.

The word *jāmi* is derived by Walde and Pokorny in their "*Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indo-germ. Sprachen* from the root *jam*, to marry. *Jāmi* thus would be equivalent to "mate"

and the word would suggest that the brother-sister relationship in Ṛgveda is that of marriage mates. There is ample evidence to show that brothers and sisters married each other in the Ṛgvedic period and that the practice was given up very gradually, though it still persisted among certain royal families according to the Puraṇic tradition. In Ṛgveda the *dyāvā-pṛthivī* are callrd *jāmi* Geschwister and are represented as a married pair. The twin gods Aśvinau, the children of Savitṛ and Uṣas (themselves brother and sister) married their sister Sūryā Sāvitṛī. The marriage hymn, which is a late contibution to the Ṛgveda compilation, has Soma as the husband of Sūryā, but there are many references in the older portions of the book which show, that according to older tradition, Sūryā was wedded to the twin gods Aśvinau who were her brothers. This practice was not confined to gods only, but was apparently a practice of common mortals also. There is a hymn in Ṛgveda which purports to drive away and destroy the demon who causes abortion. The demon is supposed to have intercourse with a woman, enter her womb and destory the fruit. In order to have easy access to a woman, the demon is supposed to take the shape of those, who generally approach her and these are enumerated as the brother, the husband, and the lover :

यस्ते भ्राता पतिर्भूत्वा जारो भूत्वा निपद्यते
प्रजां यस्ते जिघांसति तमितो नाशयामसि । Ṛv. 10.162.5.

(He who sleeps with you, taking the form of your brother, husband and lover and kills your progeny ; him I drive from here.)

The same verse appears with significant changes in Atharvaveda. The first line runs as follows—

यस्त्वा स्वप्ने निपद्यते भ्राता भूत्वा पितेव च । Av. 8.6.9

(He also sleeps with you (in thy) dream as the brother or father -him *I* destroy etc.)

According to this version, the intercourse is supposed to have taken place in a dream, while the Ṛgvedic version leaves no doubt about the normality of the act. In Atharvavedic times the sex relations of brother and sister are forbidden and an old incantation is given a new form. [1]

Brother-sister marriages seem to have been the rule in the family of the god Savitṛ i. e. the Sun god. Not only did he him-

[1] This verse gives, I think, the earliest record of the connection between repression and dream.

self marry his sister Uṣas but his children also married among themselves. (Cf. previous page). In this connection, the story of his twin children Yama and Yamī is very interesting in its Vedic and Avestan versions. The 10th hymn in the 10th book of Ṛgveda tells the story that gods wanted to people the earth and so created the twins Yama and Yamī to unite and multiply. This design of the gods was frustrated by Yama, who refused to marry his twin sister Yamī. The reason given by Yama is that such an act would be extremely immoral. The interesting hymn ends with a firm refusal on the part of Yama to unite with his sister. A literary critic commenting on this hymn says, that the hymn is evidently a fragment of a longer hymn and that Yama must have at last yielded to the pleadings of Yamī. Tradition leaves us in no doubt as to the probable end of this dispute. According to the Vedic conception, a man perpetuates himself through his progeny; as long as the progeny is living the man lives. Yama however died childless, he was the first mortal to die and became the king of the dead and Yamī accompanied him to this nether world. The gods had to create another mortal to people the earth and they chose another son of Vivasvān or the Sun. This son was Manu who generated the mortals with the help of Śraddhā, whose relationship with Manu is very obscure. Prof. Sarkar has shown that Śraddhā is a sister of Manu.[1] Human beings are therefore called Mānavas. If Yama had indeed married Yamī they would have been called Yāmyas instead.[2] Either Yama married Yamī and died childless or he did not marry her. This hymn shows the beginning of the taboo against brother–sister marriage.

The Yama myth in its Iranian version is still more interesting.[3] Brother–sister marriage persisted in Persia for a longer period and was considered as the orthodox type of marriage and so Yama is depicted as doing something sinful in not marrying his sister. Yima Vivanghat (Vedic "Yama Vaivasvata") was a mythical king who, instead of marrying his sistar Yamī, married

[1] Sarkar, loc. cit. p. 118.

[2] In the Island of Bali, which had been influenced greatly by India, there exists a custom by which twins of different sexes are married to each other.

[3] Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XVIII Pehlavi Texts Vol. II.

another woman—the sister of a demon, and gave his sister Yamī to that demon in exchange. The future of the human race was thus jeopardised but Yamī managed to secure a son from Yama, while he was in a drunken fit and saved human kind.

There is thus no doubt that sisters and brothers were Jāmis or marriage-mates in the Vedic times. The terms brother and sister were very probably used in a classificatory sense and denoted cousins and other young boys and girls of the same generation in the clan. This is made clear below while discussing other kinship terms.

In the marriage hymns in Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda at one particular point in the ceremony a Gandharva is addressed as follows. "O Viśvāvasu, go away from hence because she has a husband now. Go to unmarried girls living with their fathers, that is your natural portion."[1] Who this Gandharva is, cannot be determined from the text. Apparently it is somebody who had a right to the bride before she was married. Possibly he was her brother. In modern times just after the girl is married and while she and her husband offer puffed rice to the fire, the bride's brother is called. He tweaks the bridegroom's ear. The bridegroom thereon gives a present to his wife's brother and then the ear is released. May not this be an ancient custom, when the bridegroom had to buy off the right of the brother over his bride?

With the establishment of this taboo the endogamous patriarchal clan became strictly exogamous. As the terms brother and sister are applied to all clan members of the same generation with a taboo on the marriage of the actual brother and sister, there is also established a taboo against clan-endogamy.

The word *jāra* (जार) is used in an interesting way in Ṛgveda. The other words for suitor, like *vara*, *marya*, *vadhūyu* etc. all lead to the idea of *pati*, the husband and are also used in the marriage ritual or in magical hymns, where a suitor is sought for a girl. The word *jāra* however has no such connotation. It simply means a lover who has access to unmarried girls. The word occurs always in connection with the word meaning young unmarried girls. It is not known to Atharvaveda i. e. it does not appear in any independent passage in that Veda and reappears

[1] Av. 14.2.33. Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XX p. 96.

later on as a term of abuse meaning the lover of a married woman. In Yajurveda a woman is asked at a certain step in a sacrifice, " Who is thy lover ? " (कस्ते जारः) and when she names her lover, she is supposed to have been absolved from the sin of adultery. Manu, while enumerating different kinds of sons, names one who is born of a *jāra* (a lover). This appears to indicate that premarital chastity was not so valued in Vedic times as it is in later times and that the young girls in a clan were accessible to the youth of the clan. The bridegroom had to buy off the right over a girl from all her brothers—own brothers and clan-brothers—and even after doing so, the practice of a *jāra* persisted for some time as the quotation from Yajurveda shows.

The Vedic data show that only the eldest son had the right to marry and inherit all the property. Modern Kinship terms and certain Kinship usages confirm this conjecture. The younger brothers were allowed access to the wife or wives of the eldest brother and if a younger brother married, he sinned against the elder brother.

In Atharvaveda [1] is given a magic formula by which the sin of a younger brother, who marries before his elder brother, is wiped off. The parents who allowed such a marriage are also co-sinners. It would appear, that in marrying before an elder brother, the younger brother usurps the right of inheritance and marriage possessed by the elder brother and that the elder brother could not marry after the marriage of a younger brother. In later times it is considered merely unseemly and the real significance of the custom is lost.[2] The word *vara* (वर) meaning bride-groom is used for the groom, as also for the young men in his train. In Atharvaveda the groom is called *jyeṣṭhavara* (the principle or the eldest *vara*), to distinguish him from the other

[1] Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XX. pp. 113, 114.

[2] Śantanu married and inherited the kingdom, because his elder brother Devāpi was an ascetic. Soon after his accession there was a famine, which could be mitigated only when Devāpi consented to go to the capital and sacrifice for Śantanu. It appears as if Śantanu had suffered a famine on account of his sin in superesding his brother and had to expiate it before he could become successful. The terrible destruction of the Mahābhārata battle may be viewed in this context as a punishment inflicted by the angry spirits on the race of Śantanu, who allowed his younger sons Citravīrya and Vicitravīrya to rule and marry, thus depriving Bhīṣma of his birth-right as the eldest son.

varāḥ.[1] He was the eldest of the brothers and married as representative of them all. The many good wishes and blessings which are showered on the bride, express the desire that she may become the *gṛhapatnī* and speak in the assembly,[2] that she may rule over her brothers-in-law, her sisters-in-law, her father-in-law and her mother-in-law and the whole household. She is further called upon to enter the group of houses (गृहान् गच्छ[3] and प्र गृहान् इमान् विश[4]) of which she is to be the mistress. All this can be achieved by the wife of the eldest son only, who ruled the household after his father.

The bride is asked to be pleasing to her brothers-in-law. The word *devṛ* in modern dialects stands for the younger brother-in-law and may have had the same meaning in the Ṛgvedic times. In modern dialects a word for the elder brother-in-law is coined at a late date, but in Ṛgvedic period no such word existed as a woman never had an elder brother-in-law.

Even more significant are the modern data on this custom. According to the interpretation above, a girl was married to one brother and as such was enjoyed by all the brothers. She was not married to one individual, but was the bride of the whole family. In Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra it is definitely stated that a girl is given to a family,[5] i. e. marriage is a contract between two families and not between two individuals. In Bṛhaspati Śruti are enumerated ancient customs, which are to be avoided in the Kali-age. One such custom is the giving of a daughter to a famiiy.[6] In the Kali-age a daughter should not be given to a whole family. The positive assertion of the older authority and its negation by a later authority are a proof that the custom by which a bride was the common property of all the brothers, was an ancient custom. It must be borne in mind, however, that a woman was never simultaneously married to all the brothers. She was the wife of the eldest, while the younger ones had access to her.

Two customs found in India today also point out to this usage. The eldest brother is called the *jeth* and his wife is called *jeṭhāṇī*. A woman calls her husband's younger brother *der* or *devar* and his wife is called *derāṇi*. In Gujrat, U. P., Bengal and to a smaller extent in Mahārāṣṭra, the *jeṭh* or the elder brother-in-law is

[1] Av. 11.8.2, 3. [2] Ṛv. 10.85-26 and Av. 14.1.20. [3] Av. 14.1.20. [4] Av. 14.2.26.

[5] कन्या कुलाय एव दीयते। Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra, quoted in Dharma Koṣa, Vyavahārakāṇḍa p. 1018.

[6] कुले कन्या प्रदानं च। Bṛhaspati Smṛti, quoted in Dharma Kośa p. 1030.

not allowed to speak to the wife of his younger brother. The *deraṇī* (the wife of the younger brother), may never show her face to the *jeṭh*, i. e. her elder brother-in-law. On the other hand, the *jeṭhāṇī* or the wife of the elder brother is on terms of great familiarity with the younger brothers of her husband. In certain parts it is customary that the younger brothers have access to the wife of the eldest brother. [1]

The two usages of prescribed avoidance of the elder brother-in-law by the wives of the younger brothers and the familiarity between the wife of the elder brother and her younger brothers-in-law would be understandable on the assumption that formerly only the eldest brother married and that his wife was accessible to the other brothers. [2]

The term *devṛ* is derived from the root *div* to play and thus becomes a term significant of the relationship between the *devṛ* and his elder sister-in-law, with whom he is on terms of playing and joking.

In a family, where only one brother was married, all the children would belong to him. If he is called the father, his brothers would be "younger fathers" or "little fathers" to his children and in reality we do find such a term being used for uncle in some of the modern Indogermanic dialects of India. In Vedic times, as we have already seen, no spearate word for uncle was evolved because all the brothers of the father were regarded also as fathers. In Pāli we have the term *cullatāta* (चुल्लतात), in Ardhamāgadhī we have the word *cullatāo* (चुल्लताओ) or *cullapiu* (चुल्लपिउ) and the modern Marāṭhī has *culatā* (चुलता), all equivalent to the Sanskrit compound word *kṣullatāta* (क्षुल्लताात) meaning the little-father.

Among the polyandrous Tibetans there are certain practices which are parallel to the Vedic practices depicted above. Among the Tibetans only the eldest brother marries and the younger brothers have access to the wife of the eldest brother. If a younger brother marries before the elder, the elder has perforce to enter a

[1] Cf. for example, such songs as 'देवरा बाजू ले गयो.'

[2] Just as this Vedic custom was modified so that the younger brothers also married, their wives having a portion subordinate to the wife of the elder brother, the other custom by which the eldest alone inherited his father's property was so modified, that all the brothers got a share in the father's property, the eldest receiving a slightly larger share than the other. Hindu Law Books edited by W. Stokes, Dāyabhāga pp. 193-94.

monastery and become a monk. The Kinship terms for the father and his younger brother are as follows. " A. Pa. Chen. Po. " or " A. Pha. Chen. Po " means the great father and is applied to the eldest husband of a woman. He is held to be the father of all the children born of her. " A. Pa. Chuṅ. ṅu. " means the younger husband of a woman and is the junior father of her children. " A. Pha. Chuṅ. ba " means the junior father, i. e. the second joint husband of one's mother. [1]

Prof. D. N. Majumdar recently read a paper [2] on the social orgainsation of some cis-Himālayan tribes. He has kindly given me a copy of his manuscript. The inhabitants of this region, called the Khasiyas (to be sharply distinguished from the Khasis of Assam) are of Indo-Aryan origin and seem to have occupied their present home long before the Christian era. They are long-headed, tall, of fair complexion and light hazel or blue eyes, with thin long noses. Thus they are Europoid in their bodily characteristics. They are divided into castes of Brahmans and Kṣatriyas. They are a patriarcal people, with patrilineal inheritance and patronymic designation. " The Khasiyas live in a joint family, the brothers sharing the wife or wives in common. .....All the husbands of the mother, who are brothers, are addressed as father. If there are four brothers, the eldest is addressed as " barā bābā " (the big father) the next as " choṭā bābā " (the little father), the third is " bhedi bābā " (father who tends sheep), and the youngest as " gaiar bābā " (father who tends cows). The family house belongs to the eldest brother, the garden, crops, cattle, sheep are owned by him and the wife and children with the duty of maintenance and control are his. He is the governor of the family and his brothers accept his rule and authortity without grumbling. "

This picture of the social organisation of a cis-Himālayan tribe is comparable to the one relating to the Vedic society, as given in this paper. Polyandry thus seems to be a feature of the

---

1 Prof. P. V. Bapat of the Fergusson College drew my attention to this terminology. It is taken from the Tibetan Dictionary by Dās. pp. 1344 and 422.

2 " The Culture Pattern of a polyandrous Society. " by D. N. Majumdar, M, A., Ph.D., F, R. A. S., Proc. Ind. Science Congress, Madras, 1940, p. 185.

ancient Vedic culture and not a sporadic occurrence among certain aboriginal tribes. [1]

Just as some of the archaic features of this culture are preserved in the backwaters of the cis-Himālayan region, there is another region which has preserved them to a certain extent. In Malabar the Nambudri Brahmans form an island of patriarchal people surrounded by matriarchal communities. Their tradition gives them an original home in Northern India, from where they migrated southwards in some distant prehistoric period. Among them only the eldest son is allowed to marry. The younger brothers have no access to the elder brother's wife, but the need for this concession had vanished in their peculiar social environment. These people are the neighbours of the matriarchal Nāyars, among whom the husband of a woman is an occasional guest, the children living with and belonging to the mother's clan. The younger sons of Nambudris form an alliance with the Nāyar women. They are thus provided for without their family having to be burdened by their progeny. This curious adaptation to a new social environment, explains the taboo placed on the younger brothers to even see the wife of the elder brother. Language however has kept a trace of the ancient custom. Among Nambudris the term for husband is " nambudri. " A woman talking of her husband will say simply " the nambudri " or " my nambudri. " While speaking about her husband's brother, she says " elaya nambudri " i. e. younger nambudri or younger husband. This terminology reminds one of the Atharvavedic distinction between *jyeṣṭha-vara*, the bride-groom and *varāḥ*, his brothers.

The eldest brother, as shown above, marries as representative of the whole clan and on his death the widow passes on to the next brother. In Atharvaveda, we have the following sequence. The widow is made to lie on the funeral pyre of the dead husband, a man called Didhiṣu lifts her up by taking hold of her hand and becomes her husband. [2] The Āśvalāyana Sūtra adds that the *didhīṣu* is a brother of the dead man and according to the theory proposed above he must have been a younger brother or a clansman of the husband. That the widow waited upon the *devṛ*

[1] May not the Todas, with their Europoid features and a pastoral life, be after all an early branch of the pastoral Aryans to penetrate to the south ?

[2] Cf. Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XX, p. 135. Av. 18.3.2.

or the younger brother of her husband, is also clear from another passage in Rgveda, where a woman calls on *Aśvinau* and asks them.[1] "को वां शयुत्रं विधवेव देवरम् कृणुते" (who brings you to bed as a widow does her brother-in-law ?). A woman on her marriage is given to a particular family and she goes from her father's clan (pitṛloka) to her husband's clan (patiloka) and (after her death) attains heaven to join her husband. A bride entering her husband's house is told अदुर्मङ्गली पतिलोकं आ विश इमम्।[2] (Enter your husband's house with happy omens). Her living together with any of the brothers of her husband does not create any difficulties as to her position on earth and in heaven. If however a man outside the husband's clan wished to marry a widowed or a divorced woman, a difficulty arises. The woman belongs by her first marriage to a particular clan in life and in death and that connection has to be severed if she desires a permanent union with another man. In Atharvaveda we have the following verses.

या पूर्वं पतिं विन्त्वा अथ अन्यं विन्दते अपरम्।
पञ्चौदनं च तावजं ददातो न वि योषतः॥ Av. 9.5.27.
समानलोको भवति पुनर्भुवा अपरः पतिः।
यो अजं पञ्चौदनं दक्षिणा ज्योतिषं ददाति॥ Av. 9.5.28.

(when she, who had obtained a husband, gets another husband afterwards, the twain shall not be parted if they give the pañcaudana and a goat. The seconded husband with the re-wedded wife gets to the same world when he gives the goat and pañcaudana accompanied by a goodly fee). The use of the word *loka* (लोक) is peculiar to Atharvaveda. The girls desirous of marriage are said to be going from *pitṛloka* (पितृलोक) to *patiloka* (पतिलोक).[2] In the verse above, the husband and wife are said to attain or belong to the *samānaloka* (समानलोक) on sacrificing a goat. This use of the term would suggest that a girl became a family member of her husband when she was married. The following verse from the marriage hymns suggests a ritual binding of the girl to her husband's clan and a ritual unbinding from the father's clan.

उर्वारुकमिव बन्धनात् प्रेतो मुञ्चामि नामुतः। Av. 14.1.17.

(Like a gourd from its stem from here I release, not from there).

प्रेतो मुञ्चामि नामुतः सुबद्धां अमुतस्करम्। Av. 14.1.17.

(I release her from here (the father's house) and not from there. I bind her fast there in the husband's house).

---

[1] Cf. Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XX, p. 136 Rv. 10.40.2. [2] Av. 14.2.40.
[3] उशतीः कन्यला इमाः पितृलोकात् पतिं यतीः। Av. 14.2.52.

If she wished to change over to another man, she had to undergo a certain ceremony by which her connection with the clan of her first husband was severed and that with her second husband established. Even when clan exogamy was established, a woman from a strange clan had to become a member of her husband's clan i. e. her husband's clan sister, before she could be married to him. In the hymns of the marriage ritual however no confirmation of this conjecture can be found, possibly because it is a very composite hymn, where old and new ritual is mixed together. Further, when the brother-sister marriage was in vogue, there was no necessity for entering into a ceremonial bond of geschwisterschaft. Mr. B. V. Jadhav of Bombay has put forward a very interesting thesis, in which he attempts to show that certain parts of the modern marriage ritual mean nothing but entering into sisterhood with the husband.[1]

The usual words for husband and wife are words which primarily define the status in the household of these two. *Pati* is the one who rules and we have different grades of these chiefs. The *gṛhapati* was the chief of one household. *Jāspati* was the chief of several connected families and *viśpati* was the ruler of a people i. e. of several groups of families. That *viśpati* developed into a king or *rājan* is clear from many hymns of Atharvaveda. *Gṛhapati* and *jāspati* are rulers over a group of kindred and *viśpati* denotes leadership with reference to some territorial unit of families living in a contiguous area and not necessarily connected by the blood bond. From leadership of a primitive type we arrive at a political unit, based on the idea of territorial contiguity. *Pati* was the ruler of the household and *patnī* was that wife who shared the status of her husband. The two words connote a function which is not contained in the concept of the word man and wife. The word *dampatī* at first applied to man as the lord of his household, later came to stand for husband and wife. The married male was always the ruler of the household and his wife shared in his duties and responsibilities. Only the eldest son could become the *pati* and his wife the *patnī* and both together were *dampatī*. In the Ṛgveda the words *pati* and *patnī* are used in the sense of ruler in many passages; (Annals B. O. R. I. Vol. XX pp. 126, 27-28) and in that period the *pati* and

[1] Recent articles in various Marāṭhī monthlies like महाराष्ट्र शारदा, प्रगति etc.

patnī were also the rulers of the household. The word *jāyā* applied to wife emphasises an important function of the wife. She was prized as the mother of sons and the attribute of birth-giver is brought out in the word *jāyā*.

The word *bhartā* for husband, so frequent in later literature, does not appear in Ṛgveda in the same connotation, except in one place.

In Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda the terms showing the relationship of a woman to the members of her husband's family are fully developed. The father-in-law, the mother-in-law, the younger brother-in-law and the sister-in-law are all mentioned. The term for mother-in-law *śvaśrū* is used both for the husband's as well as for the wife's mother. The custom by which a daughter-in-law avoided the presence of her father-in-law has already been mentioned; a corresponding taboo between son-in-law and the mother-in-law seems not to have existed. A gambler complains that because of his gambling his mother-in-law hates him and his wife turns away from him.[1] In normal circumstances there was apparently friendly intercourse of a man with the mother-in-law. The daughter-in-law, is called *snuṣā*.

The word *jāmātṛ* later on used for the son-in-law also occurs and seems to have the same meaning as in later times. The meaning of the word *śyāla* is not quite clear in the passage in which it occurs. In classical Sanskrit it means wife's brother, though words in modern dialects equivalent to the words *śyāla* have also a different connotation.

The Kinship terminology in Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda is simple. Terms for the following relations are found in both the Vedas:- father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister, son's wife, sister's husband, husband's father, mother, brother and sister, husband and wife, bride and bridegroom. In Atharvaveda are found words for the grand-father, the great grand-father and grandson, though their meaning is not fixed in all the passages. In Ṛgveda occurs a word which in later times means wife's brother. None of the terms is descriptive in the sense that the meaning of the terms is clear from the meaning of the word. The terms father, mother, brother, sister and bridegroom seem to have been used in a classificatory way so as to include the brothers and sisters

[1] द्वेष्टि श्वश्रू अपजायां रुणद्धि। Rv. 13.34.3.

of these relatives, as also members of the clan who belonged to the same generation as these relatives. The relations on the mother's side are not mentioned. While on the one hand there is a multiplicity of terms for the important male relations, the terms for the female relations are very few indeed. All the affinies of a woman, i. e. all the relations of the husband have each a separate term, while there are only two instances in which the wife's relations are mentioned. The eldest brother alone married and could have more than one wives and as many concubines as he pleased. The younger brothers could not marry and had access to the eldest brother's wife or inherit her after the death of the eldest brother. The widow, if she remained in the family simply passed over to the next brother, there being no second marriage. A marriage ceremonial for a widow was required only if a widow decided to marry outside her husband's family. The father of the family had absolute control over all the members of his family and could have access to his daughters or widowed daughter-in-law if he wanted a son. This system however disappeared. There was then for a long time the practice of a brother-sister marriage. The kinship terminology reflects this usage very well. This in its turn, owing probably to contact with a people of another culture, was given up and clan exogamy was established.

The whole emphasis of the Kinship terminology is on the family with the father at its head. The relations by blood and the relations by marriage which are included in one single family are depicted by different terms. It may have been, from various indications, an enlarged family with many collaterals and their descendants living under one roof or in a group of houses where the oldest male or the chief of the senior family wielded authority as *viṣpati*. The mother's relatives, the wife's relatives, and the relatives of the sister and daughter by marriage find no mention in Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda.

Possibly because of the custom of father-daughter intercourse in certain circumstances, only two generations, that of the parents and that of the children, are distinguished and the words for grandfather and grandchild come at later date.

The terminology is used in some cases in a classificatory manner but this usage does not suggest so much a wide clan organisation as the joint family. The Kinship terms were applied

to different members of the family and not to members of the clan, though they might have been used as honorific titles for clan members. Different families connected by blood may have formed a loose organisation comparable to a clan, but the unit which functioned socially was the big joint-family.

The family was a simple closely knit family governed by one man to whom all the males and females were subordinated. The custom of the marriage of the eldest son and his inheritance of all the property again emphasises the feature of family solidarity.

This practice may be termed polyandry, but in the Vedic scheme, although the wife of the eldest was shared by others, the children belonged always to the eldest brother. They were not allotted to different brothers according to certain conventions found among the polyandrous communities of today. The marriage was not performed between several bridegrooms and one bride but between one bridegroom representing his younger brothers and one or more women. The idea underlying seems to be that of family solidarity.

This scheme of Kinship terminology can be called after Rivers the family pattern of Kinship terminology, always bearing in mind the fact, that we are dealing not with the small family of western Europe but with the joint family which included all collaterals with their wives and children.

Some terms are used in a classificatory way because they apply to a whole class of relatives in this big family and do not seem to point to a developed clan organisation over and above the joint-family. Some of the terms like *patnī* and *jāyā* may again be designated as descriptive terms, which connote the rights and duties of the relatives so named and applicable to one individual.

We thus find all the three principles included in the Vedic kinship terms. The classificatory use of some terms points to a clan organisation but there are no definite proofs of well organised clans in the Vedic times. On the other hand we have a complete picture of the Grossfamilie which is patriarchal and polyandrous.

This orginal pattern changed owing to contact with other cultures and on taking over a more settled mode of life on the fertile planes of India. It is proposed to study these changes in the post-Vedic literature of India and to compare the different patterns so obtained with those existing at present in different cultural areas in India.

INDEX OF WORDS DISCUSSED IN THIS PAPER

(The pages refer to the Annals, B. O. R. I. Vol. XX)

अग्रु	Agru	94
अग्रुवः पुत्र	Agruvaḥ putra	95
अग्रू	Agrū	94
अदेवृघ्नी	Adevṛghnī	134
अधिपत्नी	Adhipatnī	131
अन्यजात	Anyajāta	88
अन्योदर्य	Anyodarya	88
अपतिघ्नी	Apatighnī	134
अपत्य	Apatya	82
अप्रजस्	Aprajas	78
अप्रजस्ता	Aprajastā	78
अप्रजास्त्व	Aprajāstva	78
अभ्रातृव्य	Abhrātṛvya	115
अभ्रात्र	Abhrātra	115
अमाजुर	Amājur	94
अमेन	Amena	130
अम्बा	Ambā	76
अम्बि	Ambi	76
अम्बितमा	Ambitamā	76
अर्भ	Arbha	87
अर्भक	Arbhaka	87
अर्भग	Arbhaga	87
अवतोक	Avatoka	80
अविधवा	Avidhavā	136
असजात्य	Asajātya	115
आपि	Āpi	140
आपित्वम्	Āpitvam	140
आप्य	Āpya	140
ककुत्सल	Kakutsala	88
कच्चीबच्ची	Kaccībaccī	81
कना	Kanā	90
कन्यना	Kanyanā	90
कन्यला	Kanyalā	90
कन्या	Kanyā	90
कानीन	Kānīna	89
गृहपति	Gṛhapati	126
गृहपत्नी	Gṛhapatnī	126
जनि	Jani	129
जनितृ	Janitṛ	70
जनित्री	Janitrī	76
जनिवत्	Janivat	130
जनी	Janī	129
जन्य	Janya	123
जा	Jā	78
जामय	Jāmaya	142
जामातृ	Jāmātṛ	139
जामि	Jāmi	109
जामित्व	Jāmitva	142
	Jāyā	129
जार	Jāra	118
जारिणी	Jāriṇī	119
जास्पति	Jāspati	126
ज्ञ	Jña	140
ज्ञाति	Jñātī	140
ज्ञातिमुख	Jñātimukha	141
ज्येष्ठ	Jyeṣṭha	112
ज्येष्ठवर	Jyeṣṭhavara	118
तत	Tata	70
ततामह	Tatāmaha	70
तन्	Tan	79
तन	Tana	79
तनय	Tanaya	79
तनस्	Tanas	79
तना	Tanā	79
तान्व	Tānva	82
तुच्	Tuc	80
तुज्	Tuj	80
तोक	Toka	80
तोकवन्त	Tokavanta	80
थोरँ	Thorem	88
दंपति	Dampati	127
दाय	Dāya	144

दायाद	Dāyāda	140	भ्रातृव्य	Bhrātṛvya	114
दिधीष	Didhīṣu	135	भ्रात्र	Bhrātra	114
दुहितृ	Duhitṛ	92	मर्य	Marya	118
देवृ	Devṛ	135	महान्	Mahān	88
धाकटी	Dhākaṭī	88	मातृ	Mātṛ	76
ननान्दृ	Nanāndṛ	138	मातृतमा	Mātṛtamā	76
नप्ति	Napti	84	मिथुन	Mithuna	129
नप्ती	Naptī	84	मेना	Menā	130
नप्तृ	Naptṛ	84	मोठी	Moṭhī	88
नप्त्यं	Naptyam	84	वत्स	Vatsa	86
नाभि	Nābhi	140	वधूयु	Vadhūyu	118
पति	Pati	118	वर	Vara	118
पतिघ्नी	Patighnī	134	विजा	Vijā	78
पतिजुष्टा	Patijuṣṭā	133	विधव	Vidhava	136
पतिरिप्	Patirip	134	विधवा	Vidhavā	136
पत्नी	Patnī	129	विश्पति	Viśpati	126
पत्यानुत्ता	Patyānuttā	134	विश्पत्नी	Viśpatnī	131
परिवित्त	Parivitta	113	वीर	Vīra	82
परिवृक्ता	Parivṛktā	134	वीरसू	Vīrasū	82
परिवेतृ	Parivetṛ	113	शेष	Śeṣa	79
परिवेदनीया	Parivedanīyā	113	श्याल	Śyāla	139
परिविण्ण	Pariviṇṇa	113	श्वशुर	Śvaśura	138
पितामह	Pitāmaha	70	श्वश्रू	Śvaśrū	138
पितुष्पिता	Pituṣpitā	70	सखित्व	Sakhitva	114
पितृ	Pitṛ	70	सखित्वन	Sakhitvana	114
पितृषद्	Pitṛṣad	96	सख्य	Sakhya	114
पुत्र	Putra	83	सजन्य	Sajanya	123
पोरँ	Poreṁ	88	सजात	Sajāta	140
पोरंबाळं	Poreṁbāḷeṁ	81	सजात्य	Sajātya	140
पौत्र	Pautra	84	सतोक	Satoka	80
प्रजा	Prajā	78	सपत्न	Sapatna	115
प्रणपात्	Praṇapāt	84	सम्भल	Sambhala	118
प्रततामह	Pratatāmaha	70	सयोनि	Sayoni	110
प्रतिजन्य	Pratijanya	123	सहोदर	Sahodara	110
प्रपितामह	Prapitāmaha	70	सूनु	Sūnu	83
बन्धु	Bandhu	140	स्नुषा	Snuṣā	139
भर्तृ	Bhartṛ	129	स्याल	Syāla	139
भ्रातृ	Bhrātṛ	109	स्वसृ	Svasṛ	109
भ्रातृत्व	Bhrātṛtva	114			

5

LIBRARY
SOCIETY

Reprinted from

Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute

Vol. I, Nos. 2-4, March 1940

11.11.0.7

Mh.5

EOD
301.442
Kar/Kin

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND KINSHIP USAGES OF THE MARĀṬHĀ COUNTRY*

By

IRAWATI KARVÉ

PART. I. *The Kinship terminology.*

The collection of terms denoting relationship used among a people is spoken of as the system of kinship terminology of that people. Such systems contain a definite body of social facts, which can be described and classified. A comparison of one such system with another shows that they vary greatly because the principles of classification of relations underlying such systems are different among different people. Thus one people, e.g. the English, may lump together such relatives as the mother's brother and the father's brother and designate them by the term "uncle". Most of the peoples in India, however, make a sharp distinction between these two relatives and have distinct terms for each e.g. *māmā* and *kākā*. The study of the principles underlying a given system of kinship terms gives us a clue to the social organisation of the people using that system.

The importance of this study was first demonstrated by Lewis MORGAN in his epoch-making book "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family" written in 1871. The book was hotly criticised, but the method of research has now secured recognition from all sociologists. The same method was pursued with brilliant results by W. H. R. RIVERS, in 1914, in his investigations in Melanesia. RIVERS, following MORGAN, but modifying him in certain respects, has given the following systems of kinship terminology.

1. The most important of these systems is the *Classificatory system.* The special feature of this system is the application of its terms to large groups of persons, so that in its most complete form no single term can be used as the means of distinguishing one individual. The classificatory terminology shows a peculiar reciprocity in the use of kinship terms, which suggests that these terms denote relationships rather than relatives. In Marāṭhī the term, *mehuṇe* applied by cross-cousins to each other, the term *sāḍū* applied to the husbands of two sisters are such reciprocal terms. In this system, the terminology is different when the speakers are of different sex. Thus, for example, a

* I have to thank the Syndicate of the University of Bombay for a research grant, which enabled me to meet a part of the expenses incurred in connection with this investigation.

man calls his brother's child *putaṇyā*, while a woman calls her brother's child *bhācā*. Another feature of the classificatory system is that relatives receive different names, according to whether they are younger or older by age or status than the speaker. This feature is found predominantly in the languages of the people of South India. It is also found to a much lesser degree among the Marāṭhas. A woman calls her husband's elder brother *bhāvā* and the younger brother *dīra*. A man calls the elder sister of his wife *akkaḍ-sāsū* and the younger sister *mehūṇī*. These and other features of the classificatory system will become clear in the following paper.

2. A fully *descriptive system* would contain a number of terms denoting single persons, or, very small groups of persons and all other relatives would be named by combinations of these primary terms. The Prakrit terms *piucchā* and *māucchā*, for the father's sister and the mother's sister respectively, are descriptive terms. They are formed of the primary terms *piu*—father, *māu*—mother and the Prakrit equivalent of the Sanskrit *svasā*—sister.

3. RIVERS distinguishes a third system and calls it the family *system*. In this system all the kinship terms have reference to the single biological family, comprised of man, wife and the children. Terms for other relatives, not included in this unit, are vague and indefinite in their content. I have shown in a previous paper[1] that the vedic system of relationship is also a family system. It implies, however, not an atomic single family of the present-day western Europe, but a big joint family, in which collaterals belonging to different generations live together in one common household. It is what the Germans call the "Grossfamilie".

Kinship usages are reflected in kinship terminology. A study of the latter, gives us a picture of the duties and the rights of each individual in his kinship group. When a kinship term does not reflect the current kinship usage, the very disharmony between the word and the usage becomes a significant social fact, useful for the construction of the cultural history of a people. Cultural contacts, the domination of a foreign element, or a change in the social structure, may be inferred from such cases. Certain communities in the Marāṭhā country, practising the cross-cousin marriage, use the word *bhāvaṇḍa* i.e. brother and sister, for the cross-cousins instead of the usual word *mehuṇā* meaning mate. This discrepancy raises the question, as to whether the community is influenced in its use of the term by certain other people in *Mahārāṣṭra*, who do not practise cross-cousin marriage. On the other hand, social institutions may change, while the words denoting them re-

[1] "Kinship usages and kinship terminology in the Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda"—*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XX, October 1938, January 1939 and April 1939.

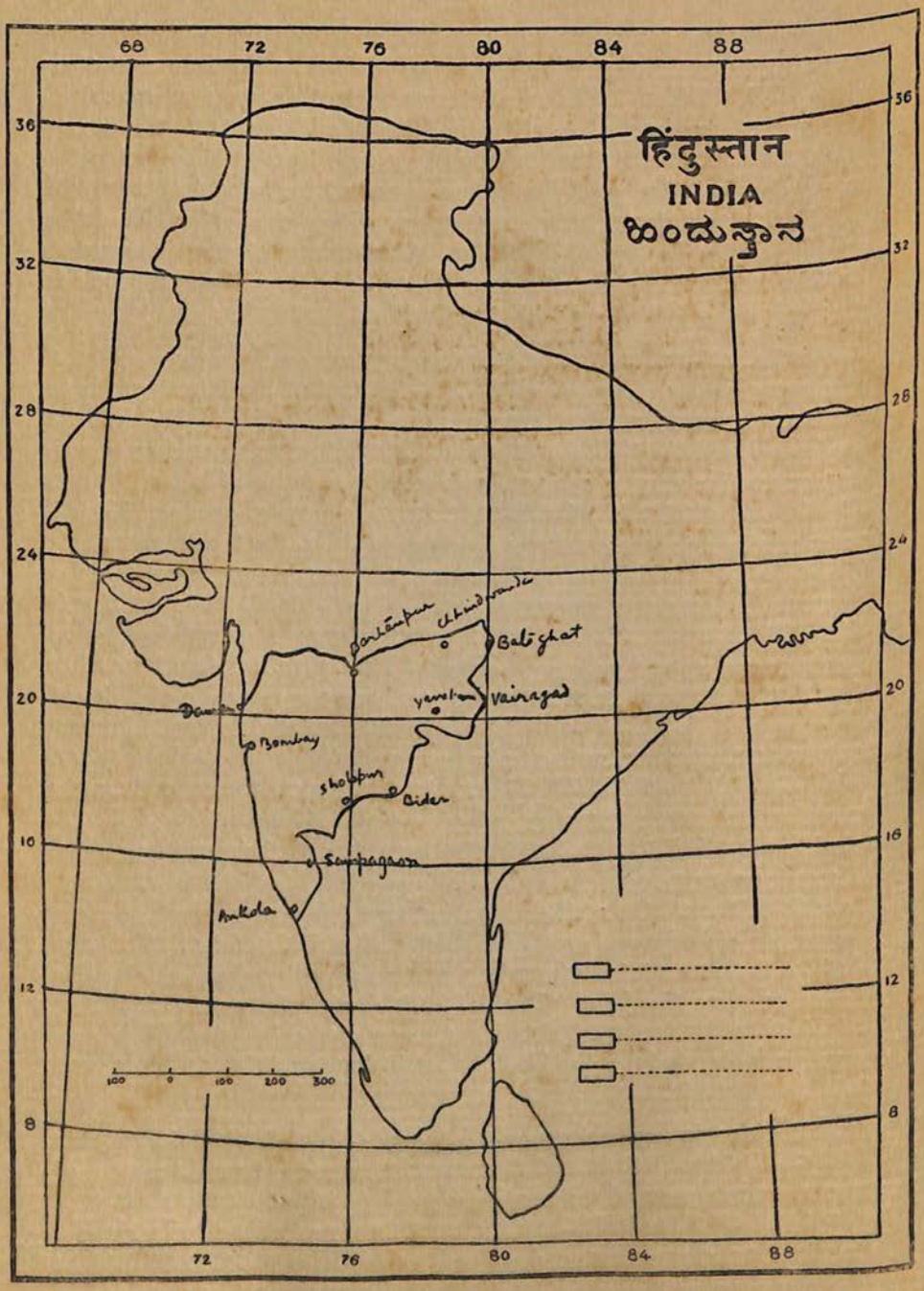
main the same. An example of this process is the Hindu family. Two generations ago, for a Hindu woman, husband's brothers and their wives, and children, husband's father and mother, were as much the members of her family, as her own children and husband. To-day in cities, the atomic individual-family of western Europe is becoming the normal family. The word family has remained the same, but the whole social and psychological content of the word has changed. Behind this change lies the history of conflict of cultures, and of great changes in the economic foundations of a community. The language of a people is thus intimately bound up with their culture.

India has been a corridor of human migrations since the very dawn of human history. The *Sivālik* hills at the foot of the Himalayas have disclosed the remains of anthropoid apes in the Tertiary age[2]. In Java has been found the " Pithecanthropus Erectus ", a being, which, though very much like an ape, can yet be called the ancestor of human beings. The time at which this being lived in Java is estimated as about 500,000 years ago[3]. Since those ancient days up to the present, different ethnic groups have crossed India, each leaving its traces in the present population, while others have permanently settled in the land. Different bloods and different cultures have mixed together to such an extent, that trying to study the culture pattern of one area may seem to be an impossible task ; but the mingling of cultures is not like the mingling of different rivers, which flow afterwards in one undifferentiated system. Human cultures and human physical traits have an individuality and a tenacity, which is very remarkable. The modern biological theory of heredity explains the immortality of the physical traits of human beings. Empirical observation has confirmed the longevity of their cultural traits. There is never a complete and a uniform mixture of human races and human cultures. Generally a stratification takes place, so that zones or regions of lesser and greater contact can be distinguished. The analysis of the elements, which make a particular pattern in a country like India, requires the joint labour of such disciplines, as anthropology, sociology, archæology and history. One sociological method of such an analysis is the study of the kinship terminology and the kinship usages of a given people.

The kinship terminology reflects the social organisation of a people ; and the slight variations and discrepancies, found between a system of relationship terms and the relationship usage, reflect clearly a story of culture contacts, assimilations and stratifications. The Vedic kinship terminology is studied and described by me in a paper published in the *Annals of the Bhandārkar Oriental Research Institute*[4]. In this

---

[2] WEINERT, *Menschen der Vorzeit*, 1930, p. 5, 7.
[3] *ibid*, p. 10.
[4] cf. (1) p. 2.



Reproduced by the kind permission of Prof. S. M. MATE, Editor, *Maharāṣṭra Sanvatsarika.*

paper I propose to describe and interpret the kinship terms and kinship usages of the Marāṭhā country. The Marāṭhā country or Mahārāṣṭra is that contiguous area of land in India where Marāṭhī with its many dialects is spoken. It stretches from the Arabian Sea in the West to the *Vaingaṅgā* river in the east ; and from Tāpi valley to the north, up to a point near Ankola in the south. Its greatest east-west breadth is reached in the north, while it tapers to a point in the south. It is a triangle with its base on the Arabian sea coast and its apex on the *Vaingaṅgā* river and comprises nearly one hundred thousand square miles of land (cf. map attached herewith). If one looks at the geological map of India, the Marāṭhā country is roughly coincident with the Deccan trap formation shown in the map. The Marāṭhā people occupy a very interesting position, between the northern Indian cultures dominated by the Vedic tradition and the pre-Vedic South Indian cultures. In skin, colour and stature they come very near to the South Indians and their social organisation is a compromise between the mother clans of the South and the patriarchal family of the north ; they speak, however, an old dialect of the Indo-germanic family of languages. The first traces of written Marāṭhī, the language of this people, goes back to 978 A.D. Unfortunately this great cultural and linguistic area has been divided in three parts and allotted to different provinces, owing partly to the historical accident of the dates of the conquest by the British of its different parts, and to the blindness to cultural and anthropological facts displayed by the rulers of the British Empire in all their possessions and colonies.

The words discussed in the following pages have been collected from different sources. 1. Marāṭhī literature, both old and new. 2. Proverbs and folk-songs, some of which were collected by me. 3. Information obtained from representatives of various castes and groups in different parts of the Marāṭhā country. Printed forms containing about a hundred terms in English were prepared and the equivalent in Marāṭhī, as spoken by the caste or group to which the informant belonged, were obtained by personal questioning mostly by myself or in some cases through the kind help of friends.*

FATHER :—The following words are used for father in the Marāṭhā country :

Pitā, pītā, pitāji, tāta, tātyā, tātubā, bāpa, bāpus, bāpusu, bāpu, bābā, bāvā, ābā, abā, āpā, dādā, dāji, dādulā, aṇṇā, ānu, vaḍil, mhātārā, tīrtharūpa, janaka, kartāra.

The word *pitara* is used in the plural to denote both the parents as also the dead ancestors. Abstract names like *bāpapaṇā, dāduleṇā,*

* I am indebted to Prof. V. B. KOLTE of Amraoti and to Prof. D. D. KOSAMBI of Poona for help in collecting information and in translating some Konkaṇī proverbs contained in XXVI respectively.

tātapaṇā, vaḍilapaṇa are also used in literature, the expression *bāpyā hoṇe* is used very often in speech.

The words *pitā, pītā, pitājī* are all formed from the Sanskrit word *pitṛ*. They are not generally used in daily speech, but are found in folk songs as well as in the Marāṭhī classical literature from the 12th century onwards.

[5]तुझा पती आम्हा पीता नाठवे वीचारू
(your husband is our father (*pītā*), no other thought touches us).

[6]माता पिता सरली = (mother and father (*pitā*) died).

[7]सुंबराणं मांडीलं मेघराय पीत्याच (Let us remember the father (*pītā*) cloud).

The suffix *jī* is added to many kinship terms as a mark of respect and so *pitājī* is the same as *pitā* with the suffix added.

The words *tāta, tātyā* and *tātubā* are also directly connected with the Sanskrit word *tāta*. In Marāṭhī the unchanged Sanskrit form *tāta* is found in literature and songs only, while the other two forms *tātyā* and *tātubā* are found also in the daily speech of the people. The words *tātyā* and *tātubā* have become in modern times mere nicknames and and are used as pet names for other male relatives, such as uncles or brothers (generally elder brothers).

[8]रुक्मिणी म्हणे ताता उपेक्षेलिये कृष्णे गोपाळे
(Rukminī said father (*tāta*), Krishna Gopala has discarded (us)).

[9]सीता बाळातीणु वनांत तिची न्हाणी । दोनी नेत्र झांकुनी तातुवा घाली पाणी
(Sītā was in childbed, her bathroom in the woods, the father (*tātubā*) poured water over her, with his two eyes shut.) [Sītā was abandoned in the forest, and taken care of by the sage Vālmīki, who is referred to here as her father. A man should not see a woman bathing, but as Sītā had no female attendants, Vālmīki had to do the duties of a midwife, which he did, shutting his eyes.]

Bāpa, bāpu, bāpus, bāpusu, bābā, bā, bāvā, are the words used oftenest for father. *Ābā* and *Āpā*, derived from *bābā*, are used for the father as also for other male relatives generally older than the speaker. These words have no equivalent in the Sanskrit language, though both *bābā* and *pāpā* are found in other Indo-germanic languages, as also in other languages.

The forms ending in *u* and *s* are those used on the western coast to-day and in older literature. These words are used sometimes without any kinship connotation, while addressing a man. Though the term *bā* or *bābā* is generally used for an elderly man, it is also used for children. This use of the term is similar to the use of the word *tāta* in

---

Note—For Roman numbers in the references see p. 59.

[5] II, p. 62. 2. [6] IV, 52, 152. [7] XXIII, 134.
[8] II, 10. 4. [9] XXII, 412.

a famous passage in a Sanskrit classic, where an older man begins a didactic speech to a much younger man with the words "*tāta candrāpīḍa*=son, *Candrāpīḍa*... The terms *bāpu, bābu* and *bābā* are also used as nicknames for children.

आई जेऊं देईना व बाप भीक मागूं देईना (The mother would not give food ; the father (*bāpa*) would not let me beg). [This is a very popular proverb in *Marāṭhi*].

[10]बापु तो नेणे माय मी नाठवे. (I do not know the father (*bāpu*) and cannot remember the mother).

Bāpājī is used in certain folksongs and women's songs.

[11]सासुऱ्याचे बोल । कडूकारेतीचा पाला । गूळ घालोनी गोड केला बापाजीहो ॥
(The talk of the father-in-law is like a bitter vegetable. O father (*bāpājī*), it is sweetened by gūḷ). [A girl is asking her father not to mind the harsh words of her father-in-law]. The word *bābā* is used generally in direct speech while addressing the father. The words *bā* and *bāvā* are in use among non-Brahmins.

[12]बाबा, बाबा, गूळ खा, पाणी प्या. (Father (*bābā*), eat gūḷ and drink water).

The words *bā, bābā* and *bāvā* are used also without any kinship connotation as a mode of address.

[13]बा पैला गांवा जाते (Sir (*bā*), I am going to the town yonder). The words *abā, ābā* and *āpā* are used for father, as also for other male relatives.

Dādā, dādulā and *dājī* are derived from the words *tāta* or *tātā*. These words are used of other elderly relatives also. The word *dādulā* or *dādlā* is used also for husband or man in certain castes. Other words derived from these like *dādulepaṇā* and *dādāgirī* denote, exercising of power (cf. below).

[14]दादो तुम्ही, तुमची निंदा कोण्ही न करी (You are an old man (*dādo*), nobody will cast aspersions against you).

[15]तयांसी येवोनी कान्होबा पुसत । दादाची ते मात सांगा मज ॥
(Kanhoba came and inquired, "what is the news about my father (*dādā*) ?)

Just like *bā, dādā* is used as a term of address, but that it stands for father or brother is made clear in the following :

[16]वैराळ दादा गा । दादा म्हणूं नकस । अहो वैराळ कारवारी । कारवारी म्हणावं ॥
("O *Vairāḷ—dādā* (father)." "Do not call me *dādā* (father)". "O *Vairāḷ-kārabārī* (husband) thus you should address me as *kārbārī* (husband).")

---

[10] VIII, 2729. [11] XIX, vol. 2, p. 67. [12] XVII, p. 3.
[13] IV, 24. 77. [14] IV, 59. 182.
[15] XIII, p. 131. [16] XXXII, p. 200.

Aṇṇā, ānu, vaḍil and *mhātārā* are all words meaning an older man or an elderly person. *Aṇṇā* is a word of Dravidian origin and is used in the Kannaḍa language for older male relatives, its feminine form being used for female relatives older than the speaker. It is borrowed in Marāṭhī and used for two or three relatives (cf. further the word "*vahinī*").

ānu is a diminutive of affection derived from the word *aṇṇā*.

Vaḍil is an adjective meaning old or big. It is also used substantively for father and other elderly relatives.

[17]दीसू वडिले होती (days become lengthened.)

[18]भटोबासांचे वडिल पुत्र महेश्वर पंडित आले (The eldest (*vaḍil*) son of Bhaṭobāsa, Maheśwar Paṇḍit arrived).

[19]तरी आम्ही कां जन्मावें । कवणालागी जियावें । जे वडिलां यां चिंतावें । विरुद्ध मनें ॥ (Why should we be born, why should we live if we are to plan evil to these our elders (*vaḍila*) ? [in this poem the reference is to uncles and grand-father etc.]

[20]जेथे वडीलधारे नाहीं । तेथें वोळवण कोई । कुवारी कवणे ठायी । दीधली देखा ॥ (Where there is no elderly relation (*vaḍīl-dhāre*) why send a girl there ? Just see in what a household the girl is given !) [It is supposed to be very improper to marry a girl to a man, who has no elderly relatives living with him].

[21]एक दीस घरीं । पुस्तक वाचितां । कांहीं आले चित्ता । वडिलांच्या ॥
तीर्थस्वरूपांनी । घातले ताडन । गीतार्थ नमन करूं नको ॥
(One day while I was reading at home my father (*vaḍila*) suspected me. The father ("*his sacredness*"—*tīrthasvarūpa*) gave me a chiding and told me not to read Gītā). [The word *tīrtharūpa* is used as an honorific title for the father and other elder relatives].

The word *janaka* is purely Sanskrit and used in literature only. The word *kartāra* meaning the doer, the master, is given by a man of Gosāvī caste and is really a Hindī word and not used by Marāṭhī-speaking people generally.

The word *mhātārā* is used among agriculturists, especially those of the west coast, and means simply "the old one". It is used also of grandfather.

Joint words like *māyabāpa, āibāpa* etc. are used to denote both the parents, the word for mother generally forming the first word in the compound. The word *pitara* is used in literature for father and mother.

[22]स्त्रीपुरुषे मायबापा म्हणती सर्व देवाते । मामाजी हरिहराते न म्हणती ॥
(Men and women call the gods their parents (*māyabāpa*), nobody calls the gods by the name of father-in-law.)

---

[17] VI, 630. [18] IV, p. 80, 1. [19] III, 1, 214.
[20] VIII, 2729, 13. [21] XXII, p. 244. [22] XII, 72, 11, 49.

[23]श्रावणे पितरे कावडी ठेवितां । हे तंव समूळ अबद्ध कथा ।
(That *Śravaṇa* placed his parents (*pitare*) in carrying baskets, is a false story). In an old Marāṭhī song a curious term occurs for parents. I have never heard the term used, nor found it elsewhere in song and literature. The term is *jācaṇṇā* in singular, and *jācanne* in plural. In its singular it stands for father, while in its plural use it means both the parents. It is however an old song and I have heard it sung every year on a certain auspicious occasion by Brahmin women.

[24]होई आयुष्य बळिया जाचन्ना आस पुरवी । (become long-lived, your father (*jācannā*) will give you whatever you shall wish.)

[25]इतके या अवसरी एक संघ निघाला । दोघे जाचन्ने एकला श्रवणू जो आला ।
(At that time a group of pilgrims started. In it were the two parents (*jācanne*) and Śravaṇū, their only son).

[26]चला जाऊं सावित्री जाचन्ने प्राण त्यागिती । (Come, Sāvitrī, let us go, otherwise the parents (*jācanne*) will give up their life.)

[27]काल मेला न् आज पितर झाला (died yesterday and became a *pitara* (dead ancestor) to-day). Ancestor-worship demands that the dead are fed and respected. A man, who may not have been respected in his lifetime, becomes so immediately he is dead. This is a popular proverb in Marāṭhī.

The father's house is called *bāpaghar* in a few places, though the word used most frequently is *māhera*, i.e. mother's house.

[28]मग आपघर त्यागूनी बापघरी केली वस्ती । (She left her own house (husband's house), and lived with her father). आपघर कीं बापघर is a proverb, which means that a woman has but two shelters, (either own house i.e. husband's house, or father's house). Many of the words used for father denote manhood, or the power of manhood, as will be clear from the following abstract nouns and verbs derived from the words *bāpa, vaḍil, dādā* etc.

[29]जो ज्ञानियांचा बाप । देखणेयांचिये दिठीचा दीप । जया दादुलयाचा संकल्प । विश्व रची ।
(He who is the father of the wisest of all), he who is like a lamp to the eyes of the seers and by whose powerful (*dādulā*) plan the world was constructed.)

[30]देवाचेया दादुलेपणाचा उबारा न साहावेची साताही सागरा । भेण वोसरोनी राजभरा । दीधली द्वारावती ॥ (The seven seas could not bear the lustre of the god's power (*dādulepaṇā*). They were afraid and receded and gave to him the royal city of Dwārakā).

[31]तातपण नीकें केलें । जे रूपूं न दाखवीसी ची आपुले । कांई वीरू घेतले । ते तू जाणैसी ॥ (You have indeed showed your fatherliness (*tātapaṇa*—beha-

---

23 IX, 1. 56, p. 5.
24 XVIII, part 3, p. 59.
25 XVIII, part 3, p. 62.
26 XVIII, part 3, p. 91.
27 XXI,
28 XII, 7, 2, 11.
29 III, 6, 108.
30 IV, 37, 38, 113.
31 VI, 105.

viour of a superior to an inferior) inasmuch as you are not showing yourself to me. You alone know why you have this enmity towards me.)

[32]तेथ आम्ही ची कांई केले । जरि निगो राउळाचेनी वोले ॥
तरी वापपण आपुले । कां दाविजेना ॥

[33]आंगिचेनी सुगंधपणे । कस्तुरीमृगे सी करौनी साजने । उमानिती डोळेआंचेनी वडिलपणे । कृष्णकुमरी ॥ (The women by the fragrance of their body showed their kinship to the muskdeer. By the superiority (*vaḍilapaṇā*) of their eyes they became standards of comparison to the blue lotuses.)

In modern Marāṭhī the plural of the word *bāpa* is used to denote men. The verbal expression *bāpyā hoṇé* means to become an adult male. There is a term *dādāgirī* derived from the word *dādā*, much used in modern journalism. It means unjust oppression of the weaker by a powerful party or man. The father idea thus seems to be connected in the Marāṭhī language with the ideas of power and manhood—even oppressive power—as is abundantly clear from the words derived from the words for father.

MOTHER :—The following words are found for the mother in Marāṭhī :

Ammā, mātā, māya, māe or *māye*, loc. of *māya, māī māyabāī, māvalī, māulī, mātā,* (in compound), *mātuḥśrī mātośrī, āīs, āiyā, āya, yāī, āvsu* or *āvasu, āvaī, bā, bāi, jananī, sūti.*

The words *mā* and *ammā* are not used by the Marāṭhī speaking people generally. The word *mā* was given to me by a man of the Gosāvī caste and is really a Hindustānī word. *Ammā* is used by the Chitrapur *Sāraswats,* who live in the extreme south of the *Marāṭhā* country and is probably borrowed from the neighbouring people, who use the word *ammā* or *ammal.*

The words *mātā, māyā, māya, mayē, māī, māyabāī, māvalī, māulī* and *māta* all correspond to the Sanskrit word *mātṛ*. All these words are used in Marāṭhī literature as also in the daily speech and folksongs.

[34]दात्याची जे कान्ता । ते मागत्याची माता ॥ (She who is the wife of a generous man, is the mother (*mātā*) of all beggars.)

[35]हं सुंबराण मांडल...धरतरी वा मातेचं ॥ (Let us remember our mother (*mātā*) earth).

[36]जावळाची माता गा हाळ्या म्हणे लागली.
(The mother of the twins began calling the others).

[37]मायाविरहीत जैसे । फुंजतु वाळकू आपैसे । धांवा फोकरीतु बोले तैसे । दीशांप्रति ॥ (Like a child sobbing without its mother (*māyā*), I cry out for help in all the quarters).

---

[32] VII, 34, 199. (Meaning not clear to me.)
[33] VI, 342. [34] VIII, 2319, 91 p. 652.
[35] XXIII, p. 134. [36] Ibid, p. 140. [37] VII, 37. 25.

[38]मायबाई तूझं पोट । सोन्या परीस पिवळं । हिरा जन्मला केवळ । भाई माझा ॥
(Mother, (*māyabāī*) your stomach is better than gold inasmuch as from it was born this jewel, my brother.)

[39]उचकी लागे माय । कांहीं केल्यानं राहीना । काढीशी आठवणी । सुखी माय तुझी मैना ।
(I am suffering from hiccough O mother (*māya*), it does not stop. Are you thinking of me, mother, your Mainā is happy). [There is a superstition that a hicough denotes that somebody is thinking about you. The bride in her husband's house thinks that her mother is thinking about her and so says these verses].

दे माय धरणी ठाय (mother (*māya*) earth make a room for me). This is a popular saying in Marāṭhī. When a person has no protection, he is supposed to ask mother earth to make room for him in her bowels. [cf. the story of Rāma and Sītā.]

[40]भणौनि आम्हा कवण आहे । कवणाते पुसो बापु माए । कवणा बंध सोडियाचे पाए । धरुनि राहो ॥ (whom have we got ? To whom can we turn, O father and mother (*bāpu māë*) ? Who is the deliverer whose feet we should hold ?) The word *māī* is used for a sister, as also for the step-mother.

Māvalī and *māulī* are dimunitives of the word *māya* and are used very frequently of the god by the worshippers of Viṭhobā. They are also found often in women's songs.

[41]तूं माझी माउली । तू माझी साउली । पाहातो वाटुली । पांडुरंगे ॥
(You are my mother (*māulī*), you are my shelter. I am waiting for you, O Paṇḍuraṅgé (the god is addressed as a woman ; the usual name is Paṇḍuraṅga but here the feminine form is used to emphasize his motherliness.)

[42]ना तरी बाळक बोबडा बोली । कां वाकुडा विचुकां पाउली । चोज करूनी माउली । रिझे जेवी । (Like a mother (*māulī*), who fondly rejoices at the lisping words and at the awkward attempts at walking by her child.)

[43]सासुरवासे शीणली । तिये भेटे जेवी माउली । असो हे तैसी परि जाली ।
श्रीऋद्धिपुर देखिले आं ॥
(As a girl tired after a long stay at the father-in-law's house at last meets her mother (*māulī*), so did I feel when I saw the town of Ṛddhipura.)

[44]बाळातीण झाली मावलीच्या घरीं । एक महिना झाला । वसुं दीना परवरीं ॥
(She delivered at her mother's (*māvalī*) house. A month passed and still she was not allowed to sit on the front veranda). [A woman in childbirth has to remain indoors for three months and is taken care of. Such care can be taken only by the mother.] The word *mātā* is written as *māta* in some places.

[45]गोकुळी टाकुनी तातमात । मथुरेसी गेला सिंधुजामात ॥

---

[38] XX, p. 100, song 8. [39] XXV, p. 195. [40] VII, 28, 163.
[41] X. Tukārāma, 74, 1026. [42] III, 9, 6.
[43] VII, p. 11. [44] XXII, p. 417. [45] XIV, p. 5.

(Leaving behind his father and mother (*tāta māta*), the son-in-law of the ocean went to Mathurā.) The words *māthuḥśrī* or *mātośrī* are used as very honorific titles for the mother. It is parallel to the word *tīrthasvarūpa* for the father.

[46]आज्ञा वंदुन मातोश्रीची । अश्व घेउनी करी । आला अर्जुन जवळ सत्वरी ॥
(He took leave of his mother, took to horse and came near Arjuna). *Āi* is the word used most frequently throughout the Marāṭhā country in all castes. *Āis, āiya, āya, yāī, āvsū, āvaśī, avaī* are all derived from the common word *āi* and *āu*. The forms ending in *s*, and *u* are used on the west coast. In older literature the words *āī* or *āis* are used without any kinship connotation as terms of address or in narrative form for women generally.

[47]आई कवणा गावां जातां (mother (woman), to which town are you going ?)

[48]उत्तमा आईया । महदाई बाईया । धवळी कृष्णराया गाईयेला ॥
(The best of women (*āīyā*), the lady Mahadāī has sung about Śrīkriśṇa in her songs of marriage.)

[49]एके लेंकुरवें श्रीचक्रधरु ऐसे उच्चारीलेः ते आईकोनी महदाइसा...सुख जालेः तयाते कडिये घेऊनी आलंगिलेः सरिसि आइसे होतीः तेहीं म्हणितलेः हां आई ऐसे काई केलेः महदाइसी म्हणितलेः सृष्टीमध्यें देवो दुर्लभ कां देवांते आठवी तो दुर्लभ ॥
(A child said "Śrī Cakradharu." Mahadāīsā heard it...was greatly pleased. She lifted the child up and embraced it. Nearby was a woman (*āis*). She said "mother (woman, *āī*), what are you doing ?" Mahadāisā replied, " In this world what is rare ? God, or he who remembers God ? ")

असत्याचा बाप, नसत्याची आई (Marāṭhī proverb). (Father is to him who has, mother (*āī*) to him who has nothing). [The father loves the child who earns, but the mother loves a child which is unable to do so.]

आई मेली कीं बाप मावसा (Marāṭhī proverb.) (After mother's death the father becomes uncle, i.e. marries the mother's sister.) [Cf. further on kinship usages.] *Yāī* was given as the word for mother by a Gondi woman in Berar. It is the same as *āī*.

The words *āis, āvay* are not found generally in literature, though they are used in the daily speech of the west-coast people. The form *āvai* was found in one place in old Mahānubhāva literature. It is the vocative of *āvay*.

[50]भटोबासी आवाइसाते म्हणितलेः आवै तुम्ही बैजोवाच्या गांवी रहा.
(Bhaṭobasa said to Ābāisā, " mother (*āvai*), go and live in the town of Baijobā.")

आवै सोशीत बापुस पोशीत. (A west-coast proverb.) (The mother (*āvai*) endures, the father feeds.)

---

[46] XVIII, part 3, p. 45. [47] IV, 77.
[48] II, ii—161. [49] IV. 19, 62, [50] IV, 25, 83.

The word *bāi* is used for the step-mother, sister and other female relations. It is but rarely used for mother, though it was given to me by one Marāṭhā. It is used as a term of address for all women. The word *bayā* is used for mother in many a folksong and by the agriculturists in the Deccan.

[51]भरल्या बाजारातु वळकिती गोतावळा । बयासारखा तोंडावळा ।
(In the crowded market place he is recognised as belonging to a certain family. His face is like that of his mother.) [It is supposed to be lucky when a son has his mother's looks and the daughter her father's.]

[52]बयाच्या घरा गेली बया नाहीं घराइतू । भावज गुजर म्हणइति कोण पावणी दाराइतू ।
(I went to the mother's house. The mother was not at home. The pretty wife of my brother says, "who is the guest at the door?") [This is a complaint against the sister-in-law. As long as the mother was there, I was received as a family member, says a girl, now in the same house, I am not even recognised.] The word *bā* is really a Gujarātī word meaning mother. It is not used in Mahārāṣṭra, by any people except the Rājputs, who have settled in Khandesh and are almost completely marāthised. They have however kept some of their old kinship terms intact. One such term is *bā* for mother. *Didi* is also a non-Marāṭhī term, not used in this country, though given by a Rājput settled in Poona.

The word *jananī* is purely Sanskrit and is used often in literature.

[53]जननी आणि जनके । तिये संसारदायिके । परी नव्हेती:भवबंध छेदके । श्रीगुरूवाचोनी ।
(Mother (*jananī*) and father introduce one to this world, but nobody except the religious preceptor can deliver one from the bonds of this earthly life.)

The usual word for step-mother is *sāvatra-āi.* The step-mother is addressed as *bāī* or *māī.* One of my informants however gave *culata āī* or *māvaśī* for step-mother. In Ardhamāgadhī literature the terms *culla-māü* or *culla-māüyā*—are used for the step-mother and mean the little or smaller mother. The first wife is always the chief wife and all other wives are inferior in status to the chief, who is the mother of all children. The other mothers are therefore called *culla-māü,* i.e. *kṣulla-māṭṛ*=the inferior mother. The Marāṭhī word *culata-āī,* seems to be on par with the *culla-māü* in the Ardhamāgadhī literature. The word *māvaśi* generally means the mother's sister. It is also applied to the step-mother and thus gives support to the proverb आई मेली कीं बाप मावसा (after the death of the mother, the father becomes an uncle i.e. mother's sister's husband) already quoted above. A song gives the same meaning to the term *māvaśi.*

[54]ध्रुव पितयाचे अंकि बैसला । तव माउशियेनें ढकलिला ।

---

[51] XXII, p. 419. [52] *ibid.* [53] I, ch. I, 77.

[54] कथ कल्पतरु 7. 10. 8. quoted in Marāṭhī compose.

(Dhruva sat on his father's lap and was pushed away by his step-mother (*māüśi*)).

We have seen, that in the Marāṭhā country the father-idea is connected with the idea of prowess, even of oppression. As a contrast to that, the mother is nothing but love and a place of protection and shelter. From the earliest times upto the present, the god, though he is a masculine god like Viṭhobā or Viṣṇu, or Śrikṛṣṇa, is addressed as mother. The religious preceptor, who delivers one from the bonds of this world and helps one to attain the highest bliss, is also termed mother (*guru māüli*). Every year, when thousands of pilgrims from all over Mahārāṣṭra gather on the shores of the river Candrabhāgā near the shrine of Paṇḍharpur, their cry is for their mother Viṭhābāī—येग येग वीठाबाई. माझे पंढरीचे आई. (come Viṭhābāī, my mother of Paṇḍharpur) or विठाबाई माउली ग माझी (Viṭhābāī, my own mother) are the songs sung frequently by these pilgrims. The mother and her house are remembered with affection in hundreds of folksongs sung by married girls. It is not the father's house that is mentioned. It is always the mother's house, *māhera*, which is described with yearning. Many a proverb bears witness to the preference of a girl for her mother's house *māhera*, as against the house of her father-in-law, *sāsara*. And the male members of the mother's house who are commemorated in songs are the mother's brother and the own brother. (cf. p. 18, where the words for maternal uncle are discussed).

आंवळा खावा, पाणी प्यावे, माहेरी जावे. (A popular saying). (Eating the āvḷā fruit and drinking water after it, is like going to mother's house.) [After eating this fruit, water tastes sweet. Everything agreeable is likened to the pleasant sojourn at the mother's house.]

माहेरची पेज सवांगास तेज. (The rice-water of the mother's house makes the body strong). [A Marāṭhī proverb.]

रुमझुम पांखरा, जा माझ्या माहेरा, कमानी दरवाजा, त्यावर बस जा, मायेला सांग जा ... (A popular girl's song). (O pigeon, go to my mother's house ; there is a big arched doorway ; perch on it and tell my mother this message.)

The Marāṭhī literature from the 12th century onwards and the Marāṭhī folksongs are a monument raised to honour, or rather to show affection to the mother. One would be hard put to it to find even a hundred references of affectionate remembrance for the father alone, whereas, almost every other page gives expression to the love felt for the mother.

ASCENDANT MALES BEYOND FATHER'S AND MOTHER'S GENERATION :—

The father's father and mother's father, father's and mother's grandfather etc. are generally not distinguished from each other in Mahārāṣṭra. Out of my informants five people have given a different terminology for the mother's father and grandfather, as distinguished from the father's father and grandfather. They are (1) Paradeśī

Govaṇḍī (2) Ṭhākur, Rajput (3) Cavāṇ, Bhangī (4) Harigīr Gosāvī and (5) Hirāmaṇsing Lodhā Paradeśī. All these belong to northern India and have kept the terminology of their original home, whether it was Gujarāt, Kathiawar or U. P.

The terms given by them are as follows.

Father's father :—*dādā* by 1, 3 & 4, *baŕé bābā* the big father, by 2, and *ājā*, the usual Marāṭhī term by no. 5.

Grandfather's father :—*Paṇajā* by no. 1, 3 and 5 ; *paradādā* by no. 4.

Grandfather's father's father :—*Nipaṇajā* by no. 1, 3 and 5 ; *saradādā* by no. 4.

Mother's father :—*nānā* by all.

Mother's grandfather :—*paranānā* or *paṇajā nānā.*

Mother's great-grandfather :—*saranānā* or *nipaṇajā nānā.*

Among the Gonds of C. P. differentiation is made between the mother's father and the father's father. The former is called *akko* or *akkho* and the latter is called *dādā*. They have clan exogamy and cross-cousin marriage. They distinguish the *akkomāmā* clans, or the clans in which one may marry, as against the *dādabhāī* clans, in which one may not marry. Though in Marāṭhī the terms are the same for grandfathers on both sides, the distinction of clans is observed, as will be clear presently.

As for other castes, the words used are very similar, except that sometimes the names for males above grandfather's generation are not always known, all males above that generation being called " the grandfather."

The terms for the grandfather (mother's as well as father's father) are—*ājā, ājlā, ājobā, ajjō, ājyābā, ābājī* and *dādā* and the Sanskrit term *pitāmaha* and its corrupt form *pitāmahanta.*

[55]अनंत कोचे ते आनोबासांचे आजे (Ananta Kocā was the grandfather of Anobāsa.)

[56] बापासि बाप न म्हणे त्यासि होय काय आजोबा (What is a grandfather to him, who does not recognise his own father ?)

Though the term *ājobā* is used for the father's father as well as for the mother's father, the word *ājoḷa,* meaning the house of the grandfather, is used exclusively for the mother's father's house. *Ājōḷa* is the maternal uncle's house and as such plays a prominent part in folksongs. Mother's relations and father's relations are distinguished sharply on certain occasions. On the occasion of the marriage of a boy, gifts are to be given to the boy and his parents. These gifts or marriage presents are to be given by the mother's relations only and not by the father's relations. The mother's relations are called *sōyare* and father's rela-

[55] IV, 60, 187. [56] XXIX.

tions are called *bhāubanda*. *Sōyare* means those people, who are related to one or will be related to one by marriage, while *bhāubanda* are the people who are one's sib-mates and therefore ineligible for marriage. This distinction is like the one drawn by the Gond between *akkomāmā* and the *dādabhāī clans*. It would thus appear, that the word *ājā* or *ajjo* was primarily used for the mother's father and applied to the father's father by extention. The father's father is addressed as *dādā* or *thoralā bāpa* i.e. the big father, in many places among the agriculturists. His house is the same as one's own house, whereas, *ājā* was the mother's father, and *ājōḷa* was the maternal uncle's house. In Vedic literature, the term for the grandmother was invented at a comparatively late date. In Ṛgveda the terms used being *mahāpitā* (the great father) or *pratnaḥ pitā* (the ancient father). The Marāṭhī usage is similar.

The Sanskrit word *pitāmaha* is used in literature only.[57]

[57]हे देखोनी देवसमूहो प्रार्थिता झाला पितामहो । (Seeing this the gathering of Gods prayed to the grandfather (the god Brahman).)

The words for the father's grandfather and mother's grandfather are *paṇajā, paṇajobā, pijjo*. The prefix *paṇa* is sometimes rendered as *para* or *paḍa*. Thus *para-ājā* or *pada-ājā, paradādā* or *paḍadādā*. This prefix is found in the case of other kinship terms also, thus *jāvaī* means the son-in-law and *pāṇa-jāvaī* or *paḍa-jāvaī* means the brother of the son-in-law. The prefix seems to denote a relative who is similar or slightly inferior in status to some other relative. This same prefix is also used as regards other nouns, e.g. *jībha* means the tongue and *paḍajībha*, means the small tongue or uvula. Thus *paṇajobā* is a relative similar to the *ājobā*, but not as important. There are very few references to this relative in the literature, nor is he found in folksongs. The Sanskrit word *prapitāmaha* is found rarely in literature. In the Marāṭhā country it is supposed to be extremely lucky to become a *paṇajobā*, i.e. to live long enough to see the face of the male child of one's son's son. It is supposed to be as meritorious as going on a pilgrimage to the sacred city of Benares. On such an occasion, rich men strew golden flowers over the great-grandchild which are afterwards given as a gift to Brahmins.

The father's great-grandfather and the mother's great-grandfather are called *khāpara paṇajā, nipaṇajā, nit-paṇajā, ninajā, śeṇajā*, or *śeṇjo, paḍapaṇajā* or *parapājā*. In the last two terms, the prefix *para* or *paḍa* is used with the term of the great-grandfather i.e. *paṇajā*. The other terms are interesting as they carry a definite meaning. Thus *khāpara-paṇajā* is made up of two words *khāpara*, (meaning potsherd) and *paṇajā* and means the potsherd-great-grandfather. A potsherd is supposed to be a symbol for death or ill luck. The word *khāpara*

57 XI, p. 38, 5, 47.

is also used for certain kinds of small pots. Such a pot is used for carrying embers, with which the pier on which corpse lies, is ignited. Throughout Mahārāṣṭra it is supposed to be very unlucky to become a great-great-grand-father, i.e. *khāpara-paṇajā* of a child. The words *niṭ-paṇajā, nipaṇajā* or *ninajā* are formed by the use of the prefix *ni* or *niṭ* which connote negation. In other words by the help of these prefixes any relationship is denied.

The prefix *śeṇ* in the words *śeṇjo* or *śeṇjā* means lost. The verb *śeṇaṇe* is used on the west coast, from where the word comes and means " to lose " and is the same as the more familiar verb *sāṇḍaṇé* meaning to lose. *Śeṇajo* would thus denote a man in the ascendant generation, who is no kin—i.e. from whose generation kinship is lost.

ASCENDANT FEMALES BEYOND FATHER'S AND MOTHER'S GENERATION :—

The father's mother and mother's mother, father's grandmother and mother's grandmother are generally not distinguished from each other. The same five people from among my informants, who distinguished between father's father and mother's father (p. 340) had also given different terms for the mother's mother and the father's mother. All these are the feminine forms of the terms for the male relations. They are :

Father's mother :—*dādī, bari mā.*
Father's grandmother :—*paradādī.*
Father's great-grandmother :—*sardādī.*
Mother's mother :—*nānī.*
Mother's grandmother :—*paranānī.*
Mother's great-grandmother :—*saranānī.*

Among the Gonds, the father's mother is called *dādī* or *ājī* and mother's mother is called *kāko.*

Among agriculturists, very few know the terms for the great-grandmother or great-great-grandmother. The simple term *ājī* is used for all women above the mother's generation or for any generation beyond.

For the grandmother i.e. the father's mother, the terms *moṭhī māya* or *thoralī āī* or *moṭhī āī* or *mhātārī āī*, all meaning the older mother, are very often used. The terms for mother's or father's mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother are *ājī, paṇajī* or *paḍa-ajī* and *khāpara-paṇajī* or *nipaṇajī*. Literary references or references in folksongs to the relatives are rare.

[58]घरांतुन आली आजीबाई । ती म्हणते एक एक पाटाऊं दीजे. (The grandmother came from within the house and said " a sārī each should be given ".)

Ājībāī is used as a term of address for any old woman.

58 XIX, p. 81.

FATHER'S BROTHER :

Culatā, kākā, bāpulyo and *bāppā* are the terms used for the father's brother. For the elder brother of the father the term *nānā* is also used frequently. Father's elder and younger brothers are also called *thoralā bāvā* and *dhākaṭā (tā) bāvā* (big father and little father) respectively.

Culatā is equivalent to the Sanskrit word *kṣulla-tāta* or the *Prākṛt khulla-tāo or culla-piu,* all meaning the smaller father. The term is really the same as that for father, the own father being distinguished from the other fathers by calling the other fathers the little fathers. The term *culata āī,* described already (p. 339), is interesting. A wife of the father, who is not one's own mother, is called *culata mā.* In Ardhamāgadhī a step-mother is also called *culla māu* (the little mother) and another usage gives her the name of *māvaśī* i.e. mother's sister. An exact parallel to that usage is the term *culatā* for the father's brother. The terms "little father" and "big father" (*dhāklā bāvā* and *thorlā-bāvā*) also fall in the same category. The terms *bāppā,* used for the father's brother, is the same as that used for father (*bāpa*) and the term *bāpulyo* seems to be but a deminutive of the word *bāpa.* The word *culatā* occurs frequently in literature, but is not as frequent in folksongs as the word for the maternal uncle.

[59]नारायण मारीयिला हंबरत्या गाई । चुलत्या राजसाला कणाव आली नाहीं । (Nārāyaṇa was killed. The very cows mourned, but the royal uncle (*culatā*) had no pity.) [The reference in this song is to the historical event of the death of the Peshwā Nārāyaṇarāo at the instigation of his uncle Rāghobā.] This is not a very old song. The word *culatī,* the fem. of *culatā* occurs in *Liḷācaritra,* a book ascribed to the 13th century.

The term *nānā* is used as a term of address for the elder brother of the father, though in the third person he is always mentioned as the father's brother, *culatā.* Hemacandra in his *Deśīnāmamālā* (4. 46.) gives *ṇaṇṇa* a word meaning elder brother.* This word has given rise to the two words *aṇṇā* and *nānā* in Marāṭhī, used as terms of address for the elder brother. Just as the word *jijī* for sister is applied to mother's sister, so the word *nānā* is applied to father's brother. It is also used for the own brother.

A common term for *culatā* is *kākā.* It is found in Gujarātī also and occurs in old Marāṭhī and in proverbs.

[60]साधे काकोसये तेथौनि निघाली (Sādhā went from that place in the company of *kākā.*) The *kāko* mentioned here is the uncle of a disciple of Śri Cakradhara and the husband (?) of Sādhā. Everywhere in the narrative, he is called *kāko,* "the uncle".

---

[59] XXII, p. 415.

* I am indebted to Dr. S. M. KATRE for this information.

[60] V, part 3, p. 33.

आत्याबाईला मिशा असत्या तर काका म्हटलें असतें [A popular proverb.] (If the father's sister (*ātyābāī*) had a moustache, she would have been called the father's brother, i.e. *kākā*) cf. p. 346 under father's sister. The husband of the mother's sister is also called *kākā* among many castes. My informants come from all parts of the Marāṭhā country and this custom of calling mother's sister's husband *kākā* seems to be fairly wide-spread.

The term *culata* is used also to define the nearness or remoteness of a relation. Thus *culata bhāu* (*culata*-brother) means father's brother's son. A man and his *culata bhāu* have a common grandfather. *Culata-culata-bhāu,* means the grandfather's brother's son's son. A man and his *culata-culata-bhāu* have a common great-grandfather. *Māvasa-bhāu* is the mother's sister's son ; *māvasa-culata-bhāu* is the son of the mother's father's brother's sister. *Sāsū* is the mother-in-law ; *culata-sāsū* is the wife of brother of the father-in-law. The use of the word *culata* thus defines exactly the degree of remoteness of a particular relationship.

MOTHER'S BROTHER :—

Mātuḷa, māvaḷa, māvaḷo, māmā-jī are the words used for mother's brother. Of these the word used oftenest by all castes is *māmā. Mātula* is a purely Sanskrit word and is found in literature only. The Marāṭhī version is *mātuḷa.*

[61]पूजिला मातुळ महावाहो । पूजिला राव दशरथ ॥ (The long-armed maternal uncle (*mātuḷa*) was worshipped. King Daśaratha was worshipped).

[62]तिच्या पोटी जन्मेल कुमर । आस्तीक नामा ऋषीश्वर । ..... तो रक्षील मातुळकुळ जळतां । ऐसे वदला वेदवक्ता. ("A boy will be born to her. He will be the great sage by name Āstīka. He shall save the maternal uncle's family from being burnt", so said Brahmadeva.) The word *māvaḷa* or *māvaḷo* is derived from *mātuḷa* and is used for maternal uncle by the Citrāpur Sāraswats of Mangalore, and is found also in some folksongs.

[63]शेती झाली रासू । खंडीच्या गोण्या किती । मावळ भाच शेती । (A big heap is gathered on the field. How many sacks would be filled ? The maternal uncle (*māvaḷa*) and nephew are in the field.)

[64]बीळीयेपाचा माउळा गोपाईचा बंदु तेणें चींचणेस्वरीचें सीवाले माधले. (The maternal uncle (in this context, mother's mother's brother) of Bīḷīyepā, the brother of Gopāī, built the temple of Śiva at Cincaṇeśvara.

Māmā is the commonest word for the maternal uncle, the suffix *jī* is added to show respect. The word is found in literature and women's songs sing with affection of *māmā,* his house, his children and his wife. There are many a jesting reference to *māmā*'s children and wife.

[65]मामा कंस मारणु । जेया दीन्हला राणिवेचा मानु । तो राउ उग्रसेनु । जेवनीये भुजे (He, who after the killing of maternal uncle (*māmā*) Kamsa, was honoured by a kingship, that King Ugrasenu sat on the right.)

[61] IX, 23. 70. [62] XI, Ādiparva, 7, 51.
[63] XXII, p. 418. [64] XXII, 198. [65] VI, 547.

[66]भेंडीच रोप खारवलं मामाचं घर थोरवलं. (The bhendi bush has received salt. The house of the maternal uncle has become big.)

निंबोणीचं झाड करवंदी, मामाचा वाडा चिरेबंदी. (The neem-tree has large round berries—The uncle has a stone-house.) [This is very popular nursery rhyme.]

[67]एका हाताची फुगडी । मामा घेतो लुगडी । लुगड्याला नाहीं दोरा । मामा माझा गोरा । मामी माझी काळी. (Play *phugdī* (a girls' game) with one hand. *Māmā* buys *sārīs*. The *sārī* has no thread. My *māmā* is fair, my *māmī* is black.) [The maternal uncle is praised, his wife is despised].

[68]मामा गेला तेलंगपुरा–ग तेलंगपुरा । तेलंगपुरासनी आणली साडी ग आणली साडी । (*Māmā* has gone to Telangpura and has brought a *sārī* for me.)

[69]मामा पाहुणा आला बाई ग आला बाई । साकर उंढे की दोनच मांडे किं दोनच मांडे । मामासंगट मामी भांडे ग मामी भांडे ॥ (The maternal uncle has come as guest. There are sweet things for him. The aunt (his wife) quarrels with him.)

[70]इचा बाप तो आमचा मामा मागत होता भीक । बळेच आणुन यानें पदरीं घातली लेक. (Her father, my maternal uncle, was a beggar. He made me marry her by force.)

In folksongs and in folktales the maternal uncle and his nephew are frequently mentioned together.

[71]मामाच्या घरी भाचा कारभारी. (The nephew is the head manager at the maternal uncle's house.)

The words *māvaḷā* and *māmā* are applied also to other relatives. Father's sister's husband is called *māmā* or *māvaḷā*. *Māmājī* is the usual term of address for the father-in-law.

[72]लक्ष्मण शेषाचा अवतार । माहीत नाहीं तुजला अजून । उजव्या हातानें डावा हात तोडला मामानीग। (Lakṣman is the re-incarnation of Śeṣa, your father. You do not know of this. The father-in-law (*māmā*) has cut the left hand with the right in killing me, his son-in-law.)

FATHER'S SISTER :—

The father's sister is called *ātyā, āte, ātō, phuī, phujbā, phuphī* and *māvalaṇa* or *māvaḷnī*.

The terms *ātyā, āte, atō, āta* are similar to the term *attige* used for aunts by the Kannaḍa speaking people. It may have the same origin as the Indo-germanic word *tétā*[73] (aunt), the feminine form of the word *tāta* meaning father. It may have been derived also from the word *ātman* or it may be of Dravidian origin. It is used all over the Marāṭhā country and especially on the west coast for the father's sister. The word *phuī* is used but rarely. *Phuphā* and *phujbā* are only other forms of the same word. It is the same as Prākṛt *piucchā* and Sanskrit *pituḥ-svasā*, both meaning father's sister.

---

[66] XXII, 87. [67] XXXIII, p. 8. [68] XXII p. 89.
[69] XXII, p. 88. [70] XV, chap. 3 p. 25. [71] XXI.
[72] XVI, Sulocaneci Lāvaṇī (no paging). [73] XXVII.

"आत्याबाईला मिशा असत्या तर काका म्हटलें असतें" is a very popular proverb. (If the aunt, i.e. father's sister—had a moustache she would have been called uncle, i.e. father's brother.) [The proverb suggests, that it is no use grumbling about what is inevitable. The aunt was born a woman and has to remain so. It is therefore no use speculating over what would have happened if she were a man.]

The term *māvalaṇa* is used on the plateau and by the Citrāpur Sāraswats of the west coast. It is the same as the Sanskrit word *mātulānī*, which means the wife of the *mātula*—the mother's brother. As already described, both terms *mavaḷā* and *māmā* are used for the maternal uncle, though the term *māmā* is more frequent. The term for his wife is however always *māmī*, the term *māvalaṇa* or *mavalṇī* being used for the father's sister.

The words *ātyābāī* and *māvlaṇa* are also used of the mother-in-law, when a woman is speaking.

[74]याची माय माझी सखी मावळण मायबापाच्या घरी तिच्या पोटी हा हिरा जन्मला काय आठवावे तरी। (His (my husband's) mother is the own sister of my father. Of her was born this jewel. What is the use of remembering all these things?) Those Konkaṇī speaking people of Goa, who are called Bārdeśakar, call the father's sister *kākā* i.e. the term employed by other Marāṭhī speaking people for father's brother.

[75]मायची भईण मावशी वायटा बऱ्याक् पावशी; पायची भईण काका कित्याक् च माका नका (The mother's sister's *māvaśī* is useful in poverty and prosperity. Father's sister, *kākā* I do not wish to have on any account.)

Husband's father's sister is called *kāka-sāsu* (aunt-mother-in-law) and her husband is called *kāka-sāsarā* (uncle-father-in-law) by a woman among these people.

MOTHER'S SISTER :—

The terms for mother's sister are *māvaśi, moṭhī māya, jijī* or *jijīmāya* and *pāccī*. The term *māvaśi* is the one universally used. The other terms are used as terms of address or alternative terms. The word *mâvaśi* is equivalent to the Ardhamāgadhī term *maücchā*, and the Sanskrit word *mātuḥ-svasā* meaning mother's sister. Thus in its original form, it is a descriptive term. It is used of all those who are sisters or cousins of the mother, as also of mother's friends. The step-mother is also called *māvashi* (cf. p. 12).

[76]नागाइसे कवीश्वरबासांची, त्यांची देमाइसे माउसी लागती. (Nagāisā was a relative of Kavīśvarabāsa. His mother's sister was *Demāisā*.)
माय मरो मावशी जगो (Let the mother die, let the mother's sister live.) This is a very well-known Marāṭhī proverb, which means that the mother's sister is even better than the mother.

---

[74] XV, chap. 3, p. 25.
[75] XXVI, 1661.
[76] IV, 242.

The word *moṭhī māya*, meaning big mother or elder mother, is used for mother's elder sister in some castes. This shows the tendency of regarding the mother's sister as equivalent to the mother. The word *jijī* or *jija-māya* is fairly common on the plateau. I have not been able to find it used in literature, except as a proper name at a comparatively late date. My enquires among the Marāṭhā community settled in Tanjore showed that the word *jijī*, as used for mother's sister is not known to them. Neither is it a much used proper name, in spite of the fact, that the mother of the great Śivājī was named Jijābāi. The same Marāṭhā informant (a woman named Rādhābāī Shinde from Madras). told me that she had heard the word *jijā* or *jijī* used by some Rājput woman* whose family had settled in Khandesh for a century. This word is used by Marāṭhās near Poona, but is more common in Berar. It was also given as an alternate term for *māvaśī* by a Bhil and an Ahiri woman, both aborigines of Khandesh. *Jijī* appears to be a word equivalent to the *didī* of the Bengalis meaning sister. It was adopted by the Marāṭhās from Gujarāt and used sometimes as a proper name and sometimes as a relationship term for the mother's sister.

The Citrāpur Sāraswats of Mangalore use the term *pāccī* side by side with the word *māvaśi*. It seems to be derived from the Kannaḍa word *ābaci* which means mother's sister.

BROTHER :—

The words *bandhu* and *bandu* occur in literature and folksongs but are not used in the everyday speech. The words *bhāu* and *bhāī*, equivalent to Sanskrit *bhrāṭṛ* are commonly used to denote a brother. The elder brother is called *dādā, nānā, aṇṇā, appā, tātyā* or *dādājī* and very rarely *bhavojī*. The words *dādā, nānā, aṇṇā, appā, tātyā* have become now nothing more than mere nicknames to be applied to any brother irrespective of his age.

[77]शिहाना नाहीं दादा परौता । किती मोडा केला येयां देता माझेनि लाभे ॥ (Nobody is wiser than my eldest brother (*dādā*), for the love he bore me he tried to hinder my marriage to this fellow.)

[78]हांव खातां तां निबार, दादा खातां तां मऊ. (What I am eating is tough, what my elder brother (*dādā*) is eating, is soft.)

The brother and the sister are coupled together in many a folksong where the brother is shown as taking away the sister home from her husband's house, to celebrate the *bhāu-bīja* festival. Small girls sing gladly of the virtues or the riches or the munificence of their brothers. Another interesting theme in such songs, is either the praising of the brother's wife or showing how mean she is. The brother, the

* Takhatba—Girasia of Dhulia, West Khandesh.

[77] VI, 212. [78] XXVI, 730.

sister and the brother's wife may be termed the favourite triangle in folksongs and proverbs. Brothers and sisters are born in the same house, are playmates in their childhood and have to separate when the sister marries and goes away to live with her husband. In one song a girl tells her brother to be loving and kind to her as she may go away and then the brother would repent of his harsh words. In the same song the girl further says, that even when she is married, she cherishes in her heart the hope of a loving present from her brother.

[79]वाकडा बोल तुझा । तुझे काळीज कापील । सासरी गेल्यावरी । तुझ्या दारी न येतील ॥ (Your angry words will make you repent, for once they go to their husbands house they (the sisters) will not come to your door.)

[80]भ्रताराच्या राज्यीं । उणे ठेवी ना रे देव । बहिणीच्या मनीं । चोळीची आशा ठेव । (God does not keep her in want of anything at her husband's house and yet let the sister hope for a gift from you.)

[81]तुम्ही दोन्ही देवांचा संबंधू। आणि आबाइसासारीखी माता । भटोबासासारिखे बंधु । आणि तुमचे आझूनि अज्ञान फिटले नाहीं । (You came in contact with both the holy persons, (lit. gods) and you have a mother like Ābāisā, a brother (*bandhu*) like Bhaṭobāsa and still your ignorance is not dispelled.)

[82]जाऊन उभ्या विदी । न दिसे उजवी भुज । राखीलं कूळ तुझं । भाईराया. (She went through the whole of the road, but nobody could so much as see her right arm. She has sustained the honour of your family. O ! my brother. (*bhāī rāyā*)) [The brother's wife is praised as a modest young woman.]

माइया दारावर नं । कोणाच्या गाड्या गेल्या । भावानं बहिणी नेल्या । दिवाळीला ॥ (Whose carriages went past my door ? The brother (*bhāu*) has taken away the sisters for the Divāḷī festival.) [Nursery rhyme.]

[83]भगीभावंडांची पोटामंदी माया । पिकल सीताफळु आंत साखरेची छाया । (The hearts of brothers (*bhāvaṇḍa*) and sisters are full of love like the ripe custard apple, with its inside full of sugar-sweet pulp.)

In this verse the word *bhāvaṇḍa*, which is generally used for brothers and sisters collectively, is used for brother only.

[84]चाले बरवा धंदा बहिणी म्हणती माझा दादा । आलीया दरिद्रबाधा पळुनी जाती। (As long as the earnings are good, the sisters say "my *dādā* (brother) " ; but as soon as there is poverty they run away.)

[85]गेली बंदूच्या जवळी । बंदूजीच्या जवळी । माजा बंदू गा होशील । सासऱ्या मला नेशील ॥ (She went to her brother, near her brother. You shall be indeed my brother (*bandu*) if you take me to my husband's house.) The Sanskrit term *bandhu* generally becomes *bandu* in folksongs.

[86]बंधूजी म्हणितु वाढ बहिणीला दूधभातू । भावज गुजर बोलती म्हशीन दिली लातू ॥ (The brother (*bandhūjī*) says give milk and rice to my sister.

---

79 XXV, p. 196. 80 ibid. 81 IV 62, 193.
82 XX, p. 102. 83 XXII, 419. 84 VIII, 1180, 4.
85 XXIV, p. 83. 86 XXV, p. 318.

The fair wife of the brother says, the she-buffalo has kicked to-day ".) [The brother wants to give a treat to the sister, but his wife gives the excuse that all the milk was spilled, because the buffalo had kicked at the time of milking.]

Father's brother's sons and mother's sister's sons are also called brothers. The own brother is called *sakkhā bhāu*, while the father's brother's son is called *culata bhāu* and the mother's sister's son is called *māvasa bhāu* or *jījabhāu*.

SISTER :—

The words for sister are all derived from the classical term *bhaginī*. The older word *svasṛ* has not left any trace in the language, except in the term *māvaśi* used for the mother's sister. Thus the Marāṭhī words for sister are *bahīṇa, bhaiṇa bhāṇa* or *bhaṇa*. The words *akkā, tāī* and *māī* are used as terms of address for elder sisters. At present they are used also for younger sisters. They are the same as those used for the mother. In some castes, the sister is called *bāī* or *bayo* or *bāyā*, terms which mean a woman or the mother. Just as the terms *dādā* and *tātyā* are used of the father or the elder brother, so also terms which originally meant mother were used formerly for the elder sister and now for all sisters.

[87]तुम्ही मायावहिणीते दंडवते करिता त्यासि काइ सीखासूत्रे असेति ।
(You bow down to your mothers and sisters (*bahīṇa.*) Do they then possess the hair-tuft and the sacred thread ?)

भीड भिकेची बहीण. [a proverb.] (Timidity is the sister of poverty.)

[88]एकवा बा माकवा र । मैणी बोलूं लागल्या । (The sisters Ekavā and Mākavā began to speak.)

The word *sagabahīṇa* is used to denote a dear friend, a woman who is considered as a sister.

[89]आठवण करुनी, करूनि घातली ती, भाजि हि सगबहिणी घरची (She remembered also to put in a vegetable from the house of her friend-sister.)

The daughters of the father's brother and the mother's sister are also called sisters. In order to distinguish these from the own sister, the own sister is called *sakkhī bahīṇa*. The father's brother's daughter is called *culāta-bahīṇa* and the mother's sister's daughter is called *māvasa-* or *jīja- bahīṇa* i.e. sisters through *culatā*, the uncle and *māvaśī* the aunt.

FATHER'S SISTER'S SON AND DAUGHTER and MOTHER'S BROTHER'S SON AND DAUGHTER :—

Father's sister's son is called *mehuṇa, ātebhāu, dīra* and *bhāvojī*. Mother's brother's son is called *māmebhāu, mehuṇā, bhāvojī* and *dīra*.

[87] IV, 61, 188. [88] XXXVI, p. 185. [89] XXIV, p. 64.

Father's sister's daughter is called *mehuṇī, ātebahīṇa* or *vahinī*. Mother's brother's daughter is called *māmebahīṇa, mehuṇī* and *vahinī*.

These relatives have thus no uniform names. Some castes call them *ātébhāu* and *māmebhāu* i.e. brothers through the *ātyā* and *māmā*. Other castes call them *mehuṇe*. The terms *ātebhāu* and *māmebhāu* seem to be modern and due to the influence of the Citpāvan Brahmins, who have dominated the Marāṭhā country for the last three hundred years. Among these Brahmins the marriage of cross-cousins is not allowed and so all the children of brothers and sisters call each other brothers and sisters (through uncles and aunts). This usage is shared by one or two other Brahmin castes, like the Devrukhe Brahmins and the Śukla Yajurvedīya Mādhyandina Brahmins. The other Brahmins, and to my knowledge all the other castes in the Marāṭhā country, practise cross-cousin marriage and have a distinctive terminology for the father's sister's children and the mother's brother's children. Being marriage mates, they are not counted as brothers and sisters. They are each others *mehuṇe*. The word *mehuṇe* is the plural of *mehuṇā*. The feminine form is *mehuṇī*. The word is equivalent to the Sanskrit word *mithuna*, and means "a pair" or "mates". This usage is not found in literature, as the Marāṭhī literature has a Sanskritic tradition behind it. Even in daily speech, of the urbanised Marāṭhās the usage is similar to that of the Citpāvan Brahmins, but when a question is put directly to the effect whether the son or daughter of the maternal uncle is the speaker's brother, an emphatic denial is given and the speaker always explains, that though they are called brothers and sisters they are really *mehuṇe*.

A woman calls the son of her maternal uncle by the general term *mehuṇā* when speaking of him in the third person. If he is older, he is called *bhāvojī*, when younger, he is called *dīra*. When a man speaks of his father's sister's daughter, he calls her *vahinī* if she is older than him, the generic term being simply *mehuṇī*. There are innumerable folk-songs about these relations. They are mentioned as *māmā's* children or *āte's* children also and as they are marriage-mates, they are on terms of great familiarity and on every festive occasion jokes are cracked at each other's expense, involving the parents also. This jocular behaviour and the custom of cross-cousin marriage is called *mehuṇa-cāra*. (Cf. discussion on the terms *māmā, māmī* and *ātyā* p. 18 onwards.)

चवळीच्या शेंगेला दाणाच नाहीं । मामाच्या लेकीला नाकच नाहीं । is a very favourite girls' saying which means (*cavaḷ* pods have no seeds and the *māmā's* daughter has no nose, i.e. she is snub-nosed.)

[90]मामा गेला तेलंगपुरा । ..... तेलंगपुरासनी आणली साडी । नेसुन गेले बरव्या पाण्या । ... तेथे होता ग धाकटा दीर । ... उचलून घेतला मी कडेवर । etc. (*Māmā*

[90] XXII, p. 89.

went to Telangpur. He brought a sārī from Telangpur. I put it on and went to fetch water and saw my small *dīra* and took him up in my arms.) There are many songs about *māmā*, the maternal uncle and in them mention is made of the *dīra* or *bhāujī*, the sons of the *māmā*, as the example above shows. There is another song, where a girl jokes about her maternal uncle's son. She says—everybody i.e. the mother and the sisters come to the maternal uncle's house in a proper way. The son, however, comes riding on a dog and is bitten by a scorpion.

[91]कांहो भावजी रुसला, काळा विंचु डसला ? (*Bhāvojī*, why are you cross ? Are you bit by a scorpion ?) This is the last line of the above song.

Some of my informants have given the term *vahinī* and *bhāujī* for the daughter of the mother's brother and the son of the father's sister. There are some love songs in which the lovers address each other as *vahinī* and *bhāujī*. The lovers must be taken to be each other's cross-cousins.

रुसला कां भावोजी घरीं का याना मसी बोलाना is the refrain of a song (an old *lāvaṇī* or lyric) sung by a woman to her lover and means—(O *bhāvojī* why are you angry with me ? Why do not you come home and speak to me ?)

अग वहिनी ग दो दिवसाची ज्वानी जसे नदीचे पाणी जाइल वसरुनी । घे भलाय भलाय करुन ग वहिनी ... an unknown woman is addressed in a song (another old *Lāvaṇī*) as *vahinī*, i.e. a term applied to the cross-cousin. The lover says (O *vahinī*, youth lasts for but two days and then dries up like the water of a river. Make use of it while you can.)

Another popular song between a youth and a maiden, who call each other *vahinī* and *bhāvojī* begins as खूण आंवेबनांत, बाळपणांत, पहिली ओळख गोडीची, माइया ग कुर्वांडिची ।...वहिनी ग (O *vahinī*, (do you remember) our first sweet meeting in our childhood, in a grove of mangoes ? The first meeting where I won you ?) As already pointed out, the custom of calling these relatives *mehuṇ* or their calling each other *vahinī* and *bhāujī* is fast disappearing owing to the influence of literary Marāṭhī over the speech of all the castes in the Marāṭhā country. I still found in some parts in Khandesh and among Tanjore Marāṭhās the old usage, side by side with the new terminology.

The term *mehuṇā* or *bhāujī* is also used for sister's husband and wife's brother. *Mehuṇī* is used also for wife's sister. *Vahinī* is used for brother's wife and *bhāujī* and *dīra* for husband's brother. These terms are discussed later.

FATHER'S BROTHER'S SON AND DAUGHTER and MOTHER'S SISTER'S SON AND DAUGHTER :—

The terms for these relatives are the same for all castes. Father's brother's son is called *culata-bhāū*, i.e. brother through the uncle.

[91] XXII, p. 87.

Father's brother's daughter is called *culata bahīṇa*, i.e. sister through the uncle. Mother's sister's son is called *māvasa bhāū* or *jija-bhāū* i.e. brother through the aunt and mother's sister's daughter is called *māvasa bahīṇa* or *jija-bahīṇa* i.e. sister through the aunt.

Among people, who use the terms *bāpulyo* and *kākā* for father's brother, are also found the words *bāpul-bhāu* and *kāke-bhāu* for the paternal uncle's son and *bāpul-bahīṇa* or *kāke-bahīṇa* for his daughter.

SON :—

A number of words exist for son or male child. Words like *putra* are common to all folksongs and literature, but there are many words which are confined at present only to certain parts of the Marāṭhā country.

Putra is used mostly in literature. *Pūtu* is used on the west coast, *pūta, putur* are used all over the country ; *mulagā, mulā,* and *mūla* are understood and used all over the country ; *leka, lyoka, lekarū* is used in western Mahārāṣtra but understood everywhere ; *sūnu* and *suta* are Sanskrit words found in literature only, so also the words *tanaya* and *tanuja* ; *ceṭa, ceḍā, cerḍu* are used on the west coast ; *boḍhyo* is used exclusively on the west coast ; *āṇḍora* is used now in Khandesh, but is found also in old literature ; *ḍingara* is found in old literature ; *ḍikrā* or *ḍokra* is used in West Khandesh ; *ḍimbha* is found in old literature. *Jhīla, jhīlgā* (*ō*) is used on the west coast ; *vīlā* was found in an inscription ; *cānda* is found in a few folksongs ; *śiyā* was given by a woman near Amraoti ; *pora, poragā* are used everywhere ; *kāṭā* is used in West Marāṭhā country as an abusive term for a boy ; *kumaru* from Sanskrit *kumāra* is used in old literature ; *ciranjīva* is used in later literature and in letters. The word *toka* is found in one song. *Santāna* for child and *kānhāḍā* also for child are used sometimes. *Bāḷa* or *bāḷā* are used by all for a child or son ; *bhurgo* is used for a boy or son in Konkaṇī.

The word *putra* is purely Sanskrit and the words *pūta, putura,* and *pūtu* are Marāṭhī equivalents of it. They are found in proverbs, folksongs, old and new literature as also in the daily speech of the people.

[92]जैसे पुत्र विटाळलें । ते पितृधनासि मुकले । शुद्ध झालीया भाग पावले । जयापरी ॥ (Like sons, (*putra*) who being polluted, lose the right to the paternal property, but get their share as soon as they are purified.)

[93]पुत्र व्हावा ऐसा गुंडा ज्याचा तीन्ही लोकी झेंडा – (Such a son (*putra*) should be born that he becomes famous in all the three worlds.)

[94]गोसावी केतुले एक दीस राज्य केले पूत झाला – (The master or lord reigned for some days. A son (*pūta*) was born to him.)

वृद्धाचा मरूं नये पूत, तरण्याची मरूं नये बाईल is an oft-quoted proverb. (An

---

92 I, p. 16. 93 X. 94 V, part 1, p. 3.

old man should not lose a son by death, nor a young man a wife, i.e. a young man needs a wife, an old man a son.)

[95]तुला पुतुर चौघेजनं। राम लक्ष्मीण भरत छत्रघन। तुला पाणी पाजील कोण॥ (You shall have four sons (*putura*), Rama, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna, but who will give you your last drink? None.)

The words *mulagā, mūla* and *mulā* are used in the west and the south-west, but are understood all over the Marāṭhā country. It seems to be an adaptation of the South Indian word *magan, mahan* or *magaḷa* for son. In Kannaḍa *magaḷa* means boy and *magaḷu* means girl. This word does not appear in old literature and is apparently borrowed during the days of Peshawā.

[96]तो नंदाचा मूल काय गे सखे कन्हयय्या हरी। नव्हे ग मारुत मेघोदरी॥ ("Is it the son (*mūla*) of Nanda, the Kanhayā Harī about whom you are talking?" "No, I am referring to the wind blowing through the clouds".)

[97]थकून धृतराष्ट्राचा मुलगा पडला भूमीवरी। (The son (*mulagā*) of Dhṛtarāṣṭra fell down exhausted, on the ground.)

The words *lēka* and *lyōka* are very old words, used all over the country and found in old literature and folksongs. The word *lēkaru* is used in the neuter gender to denote a small child and is also an old word.

[98]लेकुरूंवाचेनी दुःखे। जेवी माउली उभी सुके। तेवी तू जगदंबिके। मजलागौनि। (Like a mother who sorrows at the grief of her child (*lēkarū*) you are to me O, Jagadambikā.)

[99]नामा म्हणे सांगेन एक। निंदक श्वानाचे ते लेक। (Nāmadev says that those who slander are the sons of a bitch.)

[100]मायबापे ... लोभाकारणें पाळिती। तैसा नव्हे देवराव। ह्याचा कृपाळू स्वभाव। बाप लेकासी मारिती ... (Parents rear one up for their own ends. The father beats his son. God is not like that, he is by very nature good.)

[101]नाम न वदे ज्याची वाचा। तो लेक दों बापचा॥ (He, who does not repeat God's name is sure to be a son (*leka*) of two fathers.)

The word *sūnu, suta, tanaya, tanuja* and a host of other purely Sanskrit words are found in literature, but are not used in the daily speech of the people. They are therefore not discussed in detail.

The words *ceṭa, ceḍā* or *ceḍo* and *ceraḍū*, the last used for a child, are frequently used on the west coast. They are not generally found in Marāṭhī literature. There are however many Konkaṇī proverbs which use these words.

---

[95] XXVIII, p. 93.

[96] Quoted by G. H. Kelkar in his book on अलंकार as an example of अपन्हुति

[97] XVIII, part I, p. 118.

[98] VII, 46. 280.

[99] X, Nāmadeva 191. 1879.

[100] X, Tukārāma, 203. 3282.

[101] X, Tukārāma 54. 694.

[102]चेडो झाल्यक्, माड लाइल्याक् किता भेद? (What is the difference between planting a cocoanut palm and giving birth to a son? (Both are useful for the old age).)

सुइणीपुढें चेटा लपणार नाहीं. [Ā proverb] (A boy cannot be hidden from the midwife.)

The word *boḍhyō* is used in the south Ratnāgirī district. It means a boy or a son.

The word *āṇḍora* is used at present in Khandesh by the people speaking Ahiraṇī and by some Bhils. The Bhils seem to have borrowed the word from the Ahīrs because it is not found invariably used by Bhils as it is by Ahīrs. The word is not known in the west and the south, but is used in the literature of the Mahānubhāvas who occupied Berar and parts of C. P.

[103]तेथची आंडोराकरवी सांत खडे वोलांडवणे। (Making boys (*āṇḍora*) jump over seven stones.)

The words *ḍikrā* or *ḍokrā* are used by some Bhils in West Khandesh for son, by some for brother's child (man speaking). These are Gujarātī words meaning a boy. The word *ḍiṅgrā* found in literature seems to be related to *ḍikrā* or *ḍokrā*.

[104] विठोबाचे आम्ही लाडके डिंगर। कांपती असुर धाकबळे॥
(We are the spoilt sons (*ḍiṅgara*) of the God Viṭhobā. Our prowess makes the demons tremble.)

The word *ḍimbha* is found in Sanskrit but it appears to be a *deśī* word. It is found in old literature and is used for a child in general.

[105]आणिकी बुझावीता। डिंभ न बुझावे। मायेलागी रोवे। ते काई अपराधी॥
(Is a child to be blamed, because it cries for its mother, even though it is petted and fondled by others?)

The words *jhīla, jhilagā* or *jhiragā* or *jhilgo* are used in the daily speech, exclusively by the people of the west coast. It means a boy or a son.

[106]एक सलो झिरगो (There was a boy.)

The word *vīlā* was found in an inscription of the 16th century in a publication of the 'Bhārata Itihāsa Samśodhana Maṇḍaḷa'. The affinities of the word cannot be traced. Neither have I found it in use at the present time. The inscription was found in the eastern-most part (Bhīmathaḍī) of the Poona district.

[107]उपरी बळीयेयाचा वीला राधागो तेण्हे सभुपुरीचे सीवाले माधले।
(Moreover Rādhāgo, the son (*vilā*) of Baḷīyepā built the Śiva temple at Sabhupur.)

The word *cānda* does not definitely mean a boy or a son, but is an epithet showing affection and can be used, I think, of one's brother or

---

102 XXVI, 1633. 103 VII, 108. 104 X, Tukārāma.
105 IV, 27. 106 XIX, p. 52. 107 XXII, 198.

beloved. There are some folksongs in which the word *cānda* is used for son or husband. The word *cānda* means the moon.

[108]चांगलं तूझपणु माइया जिवाला करवतू चांद गलीनं मिरवतू ।
(It is alright for you, but my heart is cut by anxiety because the boy (*cānda*) is playing in the streets.) [As the song is isolated and without context, I am not sure of the above meaning.]

[109]वंधुजी घेतु चोळी । भावज गुजर देना दोरा । चांदाच्या जीवावरी ।
काय चांदणी तुझा तोरा ॥ (My brother wants to give me a blouse. The beautiful sister-in-law will not give him thread and needle. O star, all your pride rests on the greatness of my *cānda* (the brother.))

The word *śiyā* for son was given by a woman of the Tankoṇkāra caste, living near Amraoti, Berar. The same woman has given the word *sorī* for daughter. They are very unusual, and seem to be Gujarātī or Hindī in origin. *Cokrā-chayyā* in Gujarātī means children. It is a double word like Marāṭhī *kaccī-baccī*, made up of *chokrā* and *chayyā* both meaning a child. The word *chayyā* does not seem to be used independently. The word *śiyā* seems to be related to this *chayyā*, just as the word *sorī* for daughter is derived from the Gujarātī and Hindustānī word *chorī*.

The words *pora* or *poragā* are used all over the Marāṭhā country and mean a child or a boy. The word also means an orphaned child. It is however used also for boy in general. The word for an orphan is *porakā* or *poraṭā*.

[110]बाई पोरू प्राज्ञ असे— (the boy (*porū*) is intelligent.)

[111]प्रतिपाळ करावा आतां पोरटा लेकराचे परी । (You should protect me like an orphaned child (*poraṭe-lekaru*).)

The words *kārṭā*, *kārṭē* is really a term of abuse for a boy and means the same as *karaṇṭā*, a boy or a man who performs certain inauspicious functions at the funeral ceremony.

आपला तो बाब्या, दुमऱ्याचा तो कार्टा (A proverb.)—(One's own son is *bābyā*, other people's child is *kārṭā*.)

The word *kumarū* is the same as the Sanskrit word *kumāra*. It is used often in literature and is also used as the proper name for a boy at the present time.

[112]कांई रुपे वानूं नंदाचा कुमरूं (In what way shall I describe the son (*kumarū*) of Nanda ?)

The word *ciranjīva* means " one who lives for long ". A son should carry the family name for a long time and so he is called *ciranjīva*. The word is applied also as an adjective for all persons younger than oneself while writing a letter.

---

[108] XXXV, p. 317. [109] XXXV, p. 318. [110] Part 1, p. 63.
[111] XXXVIII, p. 131. [112] II, 62. 1.

The word *toka* seems to be the same as the Vedic word *toka* and means a boy or a child. It is not in daily use. I found it in one song only. It is also used by Mōrōpanta.

[113]मग करी सुभद्रा शोक । दाखवा म्हणे तो तोक ॥ (Subhadrā mourned and said " show me my son ".)

The word *kānāḍa* or *kānhāḍā* is used for a small boy as a pet name. The word *kānhāḍe* appears to be a diminutive of Kānhā a name of Krishna, the child-god.

[114]निढळांसी निढळ लाउनी ते रडे । माझीये कान्हाडे काय झाले ॥ (She sobbed putting her forehead on that of her son's saying " O ! what has happened to my pet ? ")

The word *santāna* is used for children and means those who keep the family name and blood for ever. It is the same as Sanskrit *santati.*

[115]नको देऊं देवा पोटी हे संतान । मायाजाळे जाण गाठविसी ॥ (God, don't give me a child, for then wrapped in its affection, I shall not remember you.)

The word *bāḷa* or *bāḷā* means also a small child, but in numerous folksongs it is used exclusively for a male child. A male-child is always desired, as he alone can take the family name and perpetuate it.

[116]काय मी सांगू सई माज्या बाळाजीचं गुणू । शेल्याच्या पदरानं लोटी बैलाची गवाणू ॥ (How can I describe the virtues of my son ? (*bāḷājī*). With the costly cloth which covers the upper part of his body, he cleans the manger.) [So fond is he of his bullocks.]

The word *bhurgo* is used on the south-west coast for son.

[117]आवैचे मन कांतली, भुर्ग्याचे मन करटी (The mind of the mother is like soft cocoanut meat, the mind of the son is like the hard cocoanut shell.)

The usual literary expression for a step-son is *sāvatra-mulagā.* Among Brahmins and other castes, where widow-remarriage was not allowed, only a woman could speak of a step-son. There are however many castes, among whom widow-remarriage is allowed and the son of the first husband of a remarried widow has different names in different parts of the country. By the expression *sāvatra-mulagā* is generally understood the son of a co-wife. For the son of the wife from a previous husband, I have been able to collect the following words and I have no doubt that many more can be collected. *Pōṭā khālacā-mulagā, lameṭā* and *āyatā.* All these words are descriptive. *Pōṭā khālacā-mulagā* literally means "the son under the stomach", i.e. the woman had the son near her body when she came to the second husband. *Lameṭā* was told to me by a man in Nagpur, as a word used in those parts. The word probably means one, who is drawn along with the mother to the new

113 XVIII, part 3, p. 47.
114 X, Nāmadeva, 1264. 13.
115 X, Tukārāma, p. 103. 1543.
116 XXII, p. 418.
117 XXVI, 1640.

house. The word *āyatā* is used in Ahmednagar district and means "one got ready made". *Āyatoḷā* is also used for such a son.

An adopted son is called *dattaka-mulagā* in literary language. The expressions *posaṇā* as well as *posagā* or *posakā* or *pośā* also occur frequently in old literature and appear to be common words. *Posaṇā* means "one who is reared" as against one who is given birth to.

[118]उपजला पुत्र देऊं जाता तो पोसणा म्हणती ॥ (If a new-born child is given, he will be called but an adopted (*posaṇā*) child.)

[119]नामा म्हणे आम्हा तुझाची आधार । पोसणा डिंगर जन्मोजन्मीं । (Nāmdeva says. "God, you alone are our shelter. In all my births I am your adopted child" i.e. though I am born of my parents I am given in adoption to you.)

DAUGHTER :—

There are many words for daughter, some understood and used all over the province, while others are used exclusively in some parts.

Mulagī or *mulī*, *pora* or *poragī*, *bāḷā-bāḷī*, *bāi*, *leka* or *lyeka*, *ceḍu*, *dhu*, *duhitā* or *duītā*, *āṇḍer* or *āṇḍyer*, *beṭī*, *kumarī* or *kumārī*, *puti*, *kanyā*, *sorī*, *calī*, or *calo*, *kāra*. *Mulagī* or *mulī* is the general term for daughter. It seems to be of Kannaḍa origin. *Mulī* is used in the vocative for daughter-in-law also. The words *mulagā* meaning son and *mulagī* meaning daughter are not used in older literature, i.e. in the literature of the *Mahānubhāvas* and in *Jnānēśvari*. The words are used very frequently on the west coast in the sense of son and daughter. Thus a woman will say, *mulāgyālā bolāva*—(call my son). This usage is not found on the plateau, where the word *mulagā* or *mulagī* are used always in combination with pronouns meaning mine, thine etc.

[120]म्यां पाठविलें होतें स्ववर पहाया स्वयें स्व मुलगीतें । (I had sent my own daughter to seek out her own husband.)

[121]नंद गृहाच्या जवळ मुलीनो दिसतो रथ दुसरा । (A second chariot is seen near Nanda's house, O girls.)

The word *pora*, meaning a boy or a child, is an old word. The feminine form *pora* or *poragī* is also used as a term in daily usage, but it is not supposed to be particularly auspicious, as it conveys the meaning of one who is orphaned. It is found in girls' songs, proverbs and rarely in other songs.

[122]ज्याच्या पदरी पाप त्याला पोरी होती आपोआप. (One who has committed sin, (in this or a former life), begets only girls (*porī*) .)

Bāḷa means a small child and *bāḷī* or *bāḷā*, its feminine, means a girl. It is an old word derived from the Sanskrit word *bālā* and is purely used in old literature and folksongs.

---

118 IX, *Bālakāṇḍa*, 3. 17.
119 X, Nāmadeva, 1532. 6.
120 XXIX, part I, page 494.
121 XVIII, part I, p. 85.
122 XXX, 1505.

[123]आनंदे नुदित भीमकी बाळा । म्हणे रुखवत देईजे गोपाळा । (The girl Bhīmakī overjoyed, said, "give the groom's feast to Gopāḷa.")

[124]तंव बाळी वेग्र झाली । तिया स्मरीले द्वारकापती । (Then the girl became anxious and remembered the lord of Dvārakā.)

[125]संकटी उभा पाठिसी बहिण संभाळी । निजवस्त्रेकरुन झांकिली द्रुपदबाळी । (In her need he stood by her, protecting the sister, and with his own robe he covered the daughter (*bāḷī*) of king Drupada.)

The word *bāī* is given by many people as the mode of addressing the daughter. Like the words *tāī* and *māī* it is an affectionate appellation for any female relation.

The word *leka* or *lyeka* or *leku* or *lekī* is a very old word and used by all people of the province. The forms *lekī* or *leku* appears to be an old form, while in more modern times the forms *leka* or *lyekə* are used.

[126]आम्ही हिराइयेसी भेटो गेलो : तंव तयांची लेंकि असक्ति होती (We went on a visit to Hirāisā. Her daughter (*leki*) was very ill.)

The word *cedu* belongs to the west coast. There are many proverbs in which the word is used.

[127]वाढले चेंडू मोडलेल्या घराक् (A grown-up daughter is given to any beggar.)

[128]चेडवाकांराची मान सदांच खालती (The parents of daughters always hang down their heads in shame.)

[129]एक चेडवाक् कझर करुक बारा जुती झराउक जाय (In order to marry off one daughter twelve pairs of sandals are worn to shreds.)

The word *duhitā* and *dūtā* are used in literature only, but the word *dhuvā* or *dhu* which is its Prakṛt equivalent is in use on the west coast.

[130]बोले धुवे लागे सुने (If you scold the daughter (*dhu* or *dhuvā*) it is meant for the daughter-in-law.)

[131]दोनय् चुली सारख्यो चर मायधुवो लाडक्यो (If the economic condition of the mother and her daughter (married daughter) are the same, then there is love between them.)

The word *āṇḍera* or *āṇḍyera* is used by the Ahiris of Khandesh. In literature I have found one reference to *āṇḍauri*, *i.e.* girls.

[132]वनकराचियां आंडौरी । रत्नांचे हातगुंडे वेचीं । सोंकरिताती तुरंबिआं वेरी । पूंगेयां ते ॥ Gardeners' daughters (*āṇḍaurī*) drive away birds from trees in flowers by means of jewels used as stones.)

---

123 II, p. 48. 124 II, p. 74.
125 XVIII, part I, p. 117. 126 IV, 24. 79.
127 XXVI, 193. 128 Ibid, 1624. 129 Ibid, 195.
130 XXX, 1354. (The editor's interpretation is obviously wrong.)
131 साहित्यपरिषद् त्रैमासिक. 132 VI, 225.

The word *beṭī* is not a Marāṭhī word, but borrowed from Hindustānī. It is not found in literature, but is found in a very late proverb.

[133]बेटी बापाची, जमीन पादशहाची. (A girl belongs to her father, while land belongs to the king.)

The word *kumarī* or *kumārī* is the feminine form of *kumāra*. The word is not used in the daily speech of the people, but is very frequent in literature. The word *kunvāra*, which is parallel to the word *kumārī*, is used with an emphasis on the status of a girl. *Kunvāra* or *kunvārīṇa* is an unmarried girl and is required in certain religious ceremonies.

[134]तव रावो चींता करी कवणा द्यावी सलक्षणीक कुमरी (Then the king considered anxiously as to whom the auspicious daughter (*kumarī*) was to be given.)

The word *putī* seems to mean children or offspring and also a daughter.

खाण तशी माती, जाती तशी पुनी— a Marāṭhī proverb—(As the soil, so the earth ; as the caste, so the offspring.)

There is however a Konkaṇī variation of this proverb where *putī* seems to stand for daughter.

[135]बापुय तशी पुती, खणताय तशी माती (The daughter is like father, the soil is as you dig it.)

The word *kanyā* taken from Sanskrit is a very old word and is used most, of all the words for daughter in the literature.

[136]तयाचिया कन्या आपुला विवाहो करूं नाहीं दीधला। (His daughter did not allow her marriage to be performed.)

[137]कन्या सासुऱ्यासी जाये, मागे परतून पाहे (A girl while going to the house of her husband, casts back yearning glances at her mother's home.)

[138]अनाथ कन्या गाय। तीला जेथें द्याल तेथें जाय। (The poor daughter and the cow have to go whomsoever you give them to.)

The word *sorī* has already been discussed with the word *śiyyā*.

The word *calī* is used on the south-west coast near Goa.

[139]वाढलली चली कुसळाली पोवळी (A grown up daughter is like the decayed vaginant leaf of the betelnut.) [From this leaf comes out the branch of the tree. This leaf is called *povaḷī* or *povā* and covers the new branch. If it decays no new branch can come out of it.]

The Marāṭhī *Śabda-kośa* gives *kāra* for daughter used by Candrapurī people.

---

133 XXI, 134 II, 2. 3. 135 XXVI, 1597.
136 IV, 6. 11. 137 X, Tukārāma, 88. 1273.
138 XXXVIII, 158. 139 XXVI, 1622.

BROTHER'S DAUGHTER (man speaking) and SISTER'S DAUGHTER (woman speaking) :—

The words for brother's daughter are sometimes the same as those used for the own daughter, or are words which mean daughter.

The words *āṇḍera, beṭī, mulagī* and *lyeka* are given as words for the brother's daughter by some of my informants. They are the same as the words used for own daughter. The following words are used for this relation among different people. *Ḍikrī, putaṇī, dhuvaḍī, doḍi* or *dhāḍī*. The word *ḍikrī* in Gujarātī means a girl or a daughter, and is used for the brother's daughter by the Ahirīs of Khandesh. The word *putaṇī* is used on the plateau and the Ratnāgirī district mostly by Brahmins. The word is derived from the word *pūta* son, and *pūtī* daughter. *Putaṇī* is one who is like a daughter.

The words *dohoḍī, dhuvaḍī* and *dhāḍī* are all derived from *dhū* daughter, which is the form equivalent to Sanskrit *duhitā*. The *dī* or *tī* ending is used as a diminutive or a prefix showing contempt. Thus all these words mean a relative which is like the *dhū*, but slightly lower in status. The term *dohoḍī* is used on the plateau, *dhuvaḍī* is used on the West Coast, and *dhāḍī* is found in old Mahānubhāva literature.

[140]कमळाइसे तिये उपाध्यबासाची धाडी (Kamaḷāisā was the niece (brother's daughter (*dhāḍī*) of Upādhyabāsa.)

In the same book the niece of Nagadevācārya is called his *lekī* i.e. daughter. *Lekī* Dhanāisā = daughter Dhanāisā. A woman speaks of her sister's daughter as if she were her own daughter. Sometimes the word *putaṇī* is used, at others she is called *āṇḍera, beṭī*, or *leka*. There are however some exceptions to this usage. Among Chitpāvans and in modern literature, which is greatly influenced by the Chitpāvans, a woman speaks of her sister's daughter as *bhācī*. No distinction is made by a woman between her brother's and sister's children.

BROTHER'S SON (man speaking) and SISTER'S SON (woman speaking) :—

The brother's son is called the same as one's son i.e. *leka, mulagā, āṇḍora* by some people. The kinship terms for this relation are *ḍikrā, putaṇyā* or *putaṇyō*. *Ḍikrā* is used in Gujarātī to denote a boy and seems to have been taken up by Bhils and Rājputs living in Khandesh. *putaṇyā* is a word derived from *pūta*, son, and means one who is like a son. This word is used on the West Coast and the plateau. It is however not used frequently in literature.

[142]त्यांचे पुतणे मज कृष्णाजीचा बाप गोंदजी कडू वतन अनुभवीत असतां आजम अलीखान अवरंगाबादेस होते (A.D. 1724) (his nephew (brother's son). Gondajī Kaḍu, the father of myself Kṛṣṇājī, was enjoying the hereditary estate, when Ajam Alikhān was at Auraṅgābād.)

---

140 IV, 59. 183. 141 IV, p. 90. 142 XXII, p. 346.

When a woman speaks of her sister's son, she uses the same terms as those above, except in the case of some Brahmins. Thus a woman speaks of her sister's son as a son or *putaṇyā* but among the Chitpāvans and some other Brahmins the word *bhācā* is used. Thus among Chitpāvans a woman speaking about her brother's or sister's child uses the same term *bhācī* or *bhācā*. It must be remembered that this lack of distinction between these relatives is due to the fact, that cousin marriage (either of parallel or cross-cousins) is tabu among Chitpāvans.

SISTER'S SON AND DAUGHTER (*man speaking*) and BROTHER'S SON AND DAUGHTER (*woman speaking*):—

A woman calls her brother's son *bhācā* or *bhāccā* and his daughter *bhācī* or *bhāccī* and the same terms are applied to the sister's son and daughter by a man. These words are common to the whole of the Marāṭhā country and occur also in old literature. The Chitpāvans use the term *bhācī* when a women speaks of her sister's daughter and *bhācā* when speaking of her sister's son, and owing to the influence of Chitpāvans in modern literature, this usage is found often. This caste does not allow cousin marriage of any kind and hence the lack of distinction between different relatives can be explained. This usage is however modern and does not occur in old literature.

[142a]मार्तंड सावळदेवासि गेला, तेथ बाइसाचे भाचे दाएनाएकू होते ।

(Mārtaṇḍa went to the town of Sāwaḷadeva, where lived Dāënāëka, nephew (brother's son, *bhācā*) of Bāisā.

[143]मामाचे घरीं भाचा कारभारी (the nephew (*bhācā*) is the manager of his maternal uncle's house.)

[144]भाचेयावर लेकी देऊ केल्या तेथें एकवीस गोत्रें अपचारा (If one gives one's daughter to one's nephew (*bhācā*), twenty one generations suffer from the sin of it.) [This is from a folk-song of the west-coast Chitpāvans where such a marriage is tabooed]

[145]शेती झाली रासूं खंडीच्या गोण्या किती । मावळंभाचं शेती ।

(There was a heap on the field. How many sacks are filled with one *khaṇḍi* corn? The nephew (*bhācā*) and the uncle (maternal uncle) are in the field.)

One Marāṭhā man has given the word *jāvaibuvā* for sister's son. *Jāvaī* is the term for son-in-law and the nephew as the future son-in-law receives that name.

SON'S DESCENDENTS AND DAUGHTER'S DESCENDENTS:—

The terms for son's and daughter's descendents are the same except in the case of one informant, who belongs to the *Gīra Gosāvī.* caste and where the terminology is Hindī and Marāṭhī mixed.

[142a] V, part 3, p. 68.
[143] XXI.
[144] XIX, p. 81.
[145] XXII, p. 417.

According to this informant the terms for son's son, son's grandson and son's great grandson, are respectively, *potarā, para potarā* and *sara-(da) potarā*, those for respective female descendants are, *potarī, para-potarī* and *saḍapotarī*. The terms for a daughter's son, grandson and great grandson are, *navāsā, para-navāsā* and *sara-navāsā* and the respective female relatives are called *nātana, para-nātana* and *sara-nātana*. The words *potarā* etc. are equivalent to Sanskrit *pautra* and *prapautra*. The word *nātanq* is equivalent to *naptṛī* or *naptī*. I cannot place the word *navāsā* in its linguistic context.

The usual Marāṭhī words for these relatives are as follows: Son's and daughter's son is called *nātu* their daughter is called *nāti* or *nāta* while the generic term for the child of the son or the daughter is *nātavaṇḍa* or *nātuṇḍa* (नातवंड or नातुंड)

[146]गोल्हो तो तयाचे नातोंडु,.....सिती तेही तयाची नाति । (Golho was her grandchild (*nātoṇḍu*). Sitī was her granddaughter (*nāti*).)

[147]आजा मेला नातू झाला, जमाखर्च बरोबर (Grandfather is dead and grandson is born, the account is even). [One mouth less to feed would have been advantageous, but there is one death and one birth and so nothing is gained]. The son's and daughter's grandson is called *paṇatu para-nātu, paḍa-ṇatu, paratoṇḍa* or *paṇatavaṇḍa*. The next male descendant after this is called *sara-nātu, ni-paṇatu, śentṛ, khāpara-toṇḍa* or *khāpara-paṇatu*. The meaning of the prefix *paḍa* or *paṇa* is already discussed when considering the term *paṇajobā* (see p. 15). Also the significance of the prefixes in the terms for the great-great-grandson were discussed there. *Ni* in *nipaṇatu* is a negative, *śen* in *śentṛ* means lost and *khāpara* in *khāparapaṇatu* means a potsherd. In the Marāṭhā country it is supposed to be very lucky for a man to live to see his great-grandson (son's son's son). On the other hand it is as unlucky to live to see one's great-great-grandson (son's son's son's son); and the idea is expressed by the negative or by using as prefix an inauspicious thing like potsherd, which is used for carrying the live coals with which a funeral pyre is ignited.

The terms for great-grand-daughter and great-great-granddaughter are feminine forms of the above terms and are as follows:—*paṇatī sara-paṇati, nipaṇatī* or *khāparapaṇātī*. These relatives are almost never mentioned in literature, as the occasion for dealing with such distant relatives does not generally arise.

AFFINIES:—

In Marāṭhī there are terms for relatives, which are related through the ties of marriage, as against those who are related by blood. *Soyarā* means one who is related by marriage. The language is rich in terminology which distinguishes one such relative from

[146] IV, p. 11-12, [147] XXX, 1377.

another. Among *soyare* (सोयरे), the plural form of *soyarā*, are comprised the following relatives:—Husband, wife, husband's relatives, wife's relatives, sister's husband, brother's wife, paternal aunt's husband, maternal uncle's wife, son's wife and her relatives, daughter's husband and his relatives etc. Some of these relatives receive different names according as they are older or younger than the speaker. *Soyarīka* means relationship by marriage. The word *soyarā* is sometimes coupled with the word *dhāyarā*. The word *soyarā* seems to be derived from the word *sahodarya* and the word *dhāyarā* from the Sanskrit word *dhātṛka*, that is to say, brotherly or related to mother. How the meaning of relation by marriage came to be attached to these words needs investigation. In Kannaḍa the word for the mother's brother is *sodara-māva*, for father's sister *sodara-atte*. This would suggest that the mother's *sahodara* (brother) i. e. a *dhātṛka* is the *soyarā* par excellence and hence in regions where cross-cousin marriage takes place, the word *soyarā* is used for the relations by marriage*. On the other hand, these expressions may mean, the uncle and aunt who are related by blood, as distinct from other uncles (e.g. the mother's sister's husband) and other aunts (e. g. the father's brother's wife), who are relations by marriage. Only a comparative study of the terminology of different peoples, as is proposed in this series of papers, can solve the problem. The word *dhāyarā* is never used independently.

[148]दादा अंगी वहिनी सोयरी (The *vahinī* (brother's wife) is relation only because of the brother).

[149]इष्ट आणि मित्र स्वजन सोयरे । सुखाचे निर्धारे आप्तवर्ग ॥ (Acquaintances and friends, clan-mates and relatives by marriage, all these whom you consider yours are only available in prosperity).

[150]वरली जड सोयरीक गोड (The elders are irksome, while the affinies are loved). [A man loves his wife, more than his parents.]

[151]धायरीं सोएरीं तुमते वर्जिती—(Your relations will discard you.) [You will be excommunicated.]

[152]सोयरीं धायरीं थाळां वाटियां जेऊं न सुनी (The relatives will not give you meals in dishes and cups.) [You will be excommunicated.]

The word *sambandhī* is also used for relations by marriage. It is, however, like the word *soyarā-dhāyarā*, used loosely also for any relations. *Sambandhī* is from Sanskrit *sambandhīn* and means "those who are bound together".

---

* I am indebted to Prof. S. M. KATRE, for the above suggestion.

148 XXX, 1405, p. 181.
149 X *Sakala Santa Gāthā*, p. 88.
150 XXVI, 1655
151 V, part II, p. 9,
152 *Ibid.*

[153]मग एक दी केसोबासांचिं संबंधिये आइकोनि नेयावेया आलॉं : (One day, after having heard about this event, the relations of Kesobāsa came to take him away.)

[154]कृष्णासी शरीरसंबंध । हा तव बोलचि अबद्ध । (The very talk about marital relation with Kriṣṇa is absurd.)

The terms "*sambandha karaṇe*" or "*soyarika* (*soyargata*) *karaṇe*" mean to arrange marriage with certain families.

HUSBAND:—

There are many words for husband. Some are taken directly from Sanskrit, some emphasise the function or the status of the husband, while others are modes of denoting the husband, whose name is tabooed to the woman, so that when she speaks either to her husband or of her husband, she speaks of him in the third person or uses impersonal construction. This usage has led to innumerable interesting ways in which a husband is addressed or spoken of and a great scope is afforded to individnal variation. The following are the words for husband:—

Pati, bhātāra, kantha, or *kānta, svāmī, gosāvī, nāho, varaitā, vara navarā, dādalā, gho* or *goho, yajamāna, kartā, kārabhārī-barī, dhanī,* or *ghara-dhanī, bāmmunu, marda, āmulā,* or *āmbulā, koma, svataḥ, gharanta, tikade* or *ikade, pāṭila, āmce purūṣa.*

The word *pati* is rarely used in daily conversation, but occurs frequently in folksongs, proverbs and literature. It is an old Vedic word come down to Marāṭhī through classical Sanskrit.

[155] तुझा पती गौळी देवों ऐसे वीनोद तेथें केले नारदें (Nārada made jokes saying "O lady your husband is but a cowherd.")

[156] बायकोनें दिली भर पती झाले तरें. (The wife instigates and the husband becomes overbearing to his other relations).

[157] श्रीरंग पती म्या मनें वरिला । (I have mentally chosen Śrirañga as my husband.) The word *bhātāra,* or *bhātaru* or *bhratāra* is common in song and literature, but is not used in the daily speech of the people, the Sanskrit word *bhartā* is also found in its original form.

[158] भाताऱु वर्जिला.....आपणचि जाउनि भातारासि बरवी उपवर नोवरी पाहीली (she abandaned the husband. She herself sought a pretty young bride for her husband.)

[159] यांमाजी तुझा भ्रतार । कवण सांगे निर्धार । सफळ होईल संसार । प्राणवल्लभे । (darling Sitā, tell us who among these is your husband (*bhratāra*); we will gain merit by seeing him.)

---

153 IV, 7. 13. 154 VIIIa, 2. 1. 155 II, 60. 4. p. 30.
156 XXX, 1399. (My interpretation is different from that of the editor.)
157 XVIII, 1, p. 92, song 76.
158 IV, p. 30, 97. 159 I, p. 224, 64.

[160] विश्वश्रियेचा भर्ता गोसावी समस्ता त्रैलोक्याचा (The husband of world richess incarnate and the lord of the three worlds.)

The Sanskrit word *kānta* (the beloved) is used freely in Marāṭhī. In folksongs, it sometimes occurs as *kantha,* it is also written as *kāntu* in old Marāṭhī.

[161] कान्तु शोभे सांवळा रुक्मिणीचा (The husband (*kāntu*) of Rukhmiṇī looked beautiful with his brown colour.)

[162] निवांत, उगिच कां भ्रान्त, कुठे मम कान्त, कसा विचरे (does he sit quietly, or wanders about aimlessly, O tell me where and how my husband (*kānta*) is living.)

[163] गेली कंथाच्या जवळी । पूस घेतली आपल्या कंथाची ॥ (she went to her husband (*kantha*) and took leave of him.)

The word *svāmi* is also used for husband. It means the lord and master. Among some castes, it is pronounced as *somī.*

[164] एके दिवशी तरी सांग मोडली कधी मर्जी स्वामीची (Tell me, have I gone against my husband's (*svāmi*) will even for a day?

[165] लक्ष्मण भावोजी मागे, पुढें स्वामी । मज आहे धामीं ऐसे वाटे ॥ (Lakṣmaṇa, my brother-in-law brought up the rear, while my husband (*svāmi*) walked in front of me. Thus I felt as if I was at home.)

The word *gosāvī* is used in literature for husband.

[166] आम्हां तुम्हां एक गोसावी (you and we have a common husband.)

Nāho is equivalent to Sanskrit *nātha* and is used frequently in literature by Brahmin as well as non-Brahmin authors,

[167] तुका करी टाहो । पाहे रखमाईचा नाहो ॥ (Tukārāma cries loudly, "O husband (*nāho*) of Rakhamāī, look to me.")

[168] मनी धरोनि हाचि भावो । अंतपुरा आला रावो । रुक्मिणीसी कृष्ण नाहो । राणिये रावो पुसतसे । (With this object in view, the king came to the inner apartments and asked his queen whether Kriṣṇa would not be a fitting husband (*nāho*) for Rukhmiṇī.)

Vara is a Sanskrit word used in Marāṭhī in song, proverb and literature. In its old form it is written as *varu.* The word *varaitā* is also found in old literature and is the past passive participle of the verb *varaṇe. Varaitā* means one who is chosen. Though the word *vara* is used for husband, it generally means the bride-groom.

[169] कुमरी लावण्यनिधान इय वरू होय द्वारकेनाथु । (This girl is the treasure of all beauty. The Lord of Dvārakā is alone the husband (*varu*) fit for her.)

---

160 III, 9. 280. 161 II, ii, 1, p. 32. 162 XVIII, 1, p. 14.
163 XXVIII, p. 89. 164 XLI, p. 33.
165 XXIX, *Sītāgītā*, 11. 166 IX, 3, 11.
167 X, 1098. 168 VIIa, 1. 92. 169 II, 1, 4, 4.

[170]जिवंत असतां लग्न वर मग कां करावा पाटाचा (When the husband by marriage is living, why seek another husband by remarriage?)

[The first marriage of a woman is the only marriage by religious rites. Even among those castes, where remarriage is allowed, the second marriage is given a different name and is held as inferior to the first.]

[171]वरैताचिया बाइलां आणि लेंकुरवाळिया मी भीक्षां देउं भीत असे (I am afraid to admit in the order of religious mendicants (Mahānubhāva sect) the wives of husbands and women with children.)

[172]तुम्ही वरैतापढीया (You are the beloved of your husband.)

आवडीनें केला वर त्याला दिसां खोकला आणि रात्रीं हिंवज्वर (Proverb) (The husband of her choice is coughing by day and has fever by night.)

[173]न वरावा जरि गुणवान् योजूं अन्या असें उणें न वरा (You should not choose him though he be virtuous. We will get another. There is no dearth of bridegrooms.)

The word *navarā* or *nōvara* or *nhavarā* is used in common speech, as also in song, proverb and literature for husband or bridegroom.

[174]हळदाई वाटली आधीं लावा देवाजीला। मग लावा न्हवऱ्या बाळा (The turmeric is pounded. Apply it first to the god and then to the bridegroom.) [The marriage ceremony begins with the ceremonial application of turmeric to the bride and groom.]

[175]नवऱ्याचें मारणें आणि चिखलांत पडणें (A husband's (*navaryāce*) beating is like a fall in the mud.) [The consequences are soon forgotten.]

[176]इन्द्र आला प्रथम प्रहरा। तव अहल्येसि गौतम नोवरा।.....देखोनी। अभ्यन्तरी संतप्त॥ (Indra came during the first part of the day, saw that Ahalyā had Gautama for her husband (*novarā*) and became angry.)

The word *dādala* or *dādulā* or *dādlo* is used for husband on the west coast and also on the plateau. It is not used by Brahmins.

[177]दादलो बायले आदलो (The husband comes before the wife.) [It means either that the husband is higher in status to the wife, or that he is born before his wife.] Compare कन्ये आधीं तिच्या पतीतें विधि निपजवितो भार्ये[178] (The god creates the girl's husband before he creates her.)

The word *gho* or *goho* is used on the west coast. It is found also rarely in literature.

[179]गोहो यावा गांवा ऐसे नवस करी आवा (wife prays to god that the husband (*goho*) may soon come home to his native village.)

---

170 XIV, p. 2. 171 IV, p. 15, 49. 172 V, part 3, p. 3.
173 XXIX, Sāvitri, 17, p. 494. 174 XXXII, p. 142.
175 XXX, 1327, p. 170. 176 IX, 14. 41. p. 50.
177 XXVI, 380. 178 XLII.
179 X, Tukārāma, 189. 3044.

[180]धोवांन् जोडले, बायल्येन् संभाळले, घर थरले. (The husband (*gho*) obtained it, the wife cared for it and so the house prospered.) The word *yajamāna,* which means in Sanskrit, one who sacrifies, is applied to a householder or husband in Marāṭhī. It is however not used everywhere.

The word *kārabārī* (*kārabhārī*) or *gharbāri* meaning manager of the household and *gharadhanī* or *dhanī* meaning the possessor of the house, are used for husband. They denote his status in the household. So also among Marāṭhās the husband is mentioned as *pāṭila. Marda* is an Arabic term and means "man". *Bammunu* i. e. Brahmin, is the term used by the Brahmin women in Canara. The word *koma* is never used independently, except in legal documents, where after a married woman's name the word *koma* is written followed by the husband's name. The word *bhratāra* is also used sometimes for the word *koma.*

[181]अहो वैराळ कारवारी । कारवारी म्हणावं । म्हंजे कंकण चढवीतो ॥ ("You should say, "O, Vairāḷa, my husband (*kārabāri*)," then I will put the bangle on your hand.)

[182]घरी आहे घरचा धनी.....(The owner of the house is at home.....).

[183]कचेरींत घरधनी बैसती वाघापरी रडकत । (My husband (*ghardhanī*) sits chained in his office like a tiger.)

[184]कां रुसला गे माझा तो घरबारी । न कळेच कांहिंसे बाई । (why is my master (husband *gharbhāri*) angry with me? I do not seem to understand anything.)

The word *āmulā* or *ābulā* or *āmbulā* is found in old Marāṭhī literature only. It is no longer used by any community. The feminine of this word is *āmbuli* or *āmbuḷī* and is used for wife also in old literature.

[185]प्रकृति पुरुषाची कुळवाडी । सांगता असंघडी । जे आंवुली जोडी । आमुला खाय । (The family history of Prakṛti and Puruṣa (the male and female elements who created the world) is unique, inasmuch as the wife (*āmbulī*) ate her husband (*āmulā*).)

[186]हें आइकौनि तो साळि । आंवुलियेते म्हणे. (Hearing this the weaver said to his wife (*ambulī*).)

The word seems to be borrowed from the Tamil language. *Attimber* is a word used for the husband (*amber*) of the father's sister (*atti*).[187] The word *amber* is never used alone, but it, in its turn, is derived from the Tamil word *aṇapan,* which means husband or lover. This *aṇapan* can easily be changed to *ampal* or *ambar* or *ambal*[188].

---

180 XXVI, 368. 181 XXXIV, p. 196.
182 Popular song sung by a Gopī. 183 XLI, p. 40.
184 XLI, p. 54. 185 III, 13, p. 61. 186 XL, 38, p. 10.
187 *vide* Tamil Dictionary published by the Madras University.
188 I am indebted to Prof. SANKARAN for finding out the word *aṇapan.* It occurs in *Cilappatikaram.* 18. 17.

The old Marāṭhī word *āmulā* or *ambulá* and its feminine form *ambulī* thus appear very probably to have come from the Tamil word *amber* or *aṇapan.*

The Sinhali word *ambayālu* may also be related to these words.

When a wife speaks of her husband, she uses terms like *svataḥ* (himself), *gharāta* (one in the house), or *tikade* (him there), *ikade* (him here) and so on; or she simply uses impersonal construction without using any subject. She never utters the name of her husband, except on ceremonial occasions. There are many women's festivals at which, when neighbours assemble, women are requested to utter the names of their husbands. This is done amidst a lot of joking and laughter. The name of the husband is never uttered in a bald, unadorned way; it is strung in some pretty rhyme which shows how good, or handsome or beloved he is. This has given rise to a peculiar kind of literature called the *ukhāṇe* or *āhāṇe* (plural of *ukhāṇā* or *āhāṇā* i. e. an epigram. The word is derived from Sanskrit *vacana,* a saying.) The husband also employs these when at certain ceremonies, he is made to utter the name of the wife. With the influence of the western education, this custom is vanishing. Formerly it was considered a necessary accomplishment for a bride to have a store of these sayings or to compose them on the spur of the moment. Some examples of these compositions are given below.

[189]लाविंत होतें कुंकू त्यांत पडलें मोती । × × × सारखा भ्रतार जन्मोजन्मीं चिंतीं. (I was applying the red mark to my forehead, when a pearl fell in. A husband like × × × I wish to have in birth after birth.)

[190]दारीं होती तुळस, तिला घालीत होतें पळी पळी पाणी । आधी होतें आईबापांची तान्ही । मग झालें × × ×ची राणी ॥ (There was a Tulasa bush at my door. I watered it daily. I was formerly a pet of my parents and then became the queen of × × × .)

This is the general form of the *ukhāṇe* among Brahmins and some other castes. Among Marāṭhās and Kuṇbis the *ukkhāṇe* are much lengthier and contain a jocular story about the husband or the brother of the woman or some other persons. They are also rhymed lines. Sometimes these are very clever compositions, while at others they appear to be mere unconnected lines chosen for rhyme and not having any meaning at all. One of these *ukhāṇe* is given below.*

अदघर मधघर । मधघरांत बक्षे गहू । पान्जणी होतं भाऊ । एक निघाला त्रिशिंगराव । चांदीच ताट घोडाच्या खोगराला । चल म्हंतो नगराला । नगराची भिंगरं । भिंगराची तात्र (?) । सोलापुरची धोत्रं । पन्नासाची घेतली गाडी । त्याचा झाला चूर । पहिला मोराचा पूर (मोरगांव) । मोराच्या पुराचा चटका । अष्टापुरचा पटका । पटक्याचो लेहणी । तळेगांवची बंडी । बंडीचा साहशा । नगराचा काच्या । अवसपुणव आली दाट । एका भाकरीचं घेतल पीठ । त्याला नाहीं दूध ॥

189 XLIII, part 1, p. 1.

190 XLIII, part I, p. 2.

* Given by Gayābāi Pawār.

झाली आईची सूध । आईच्या नांवावर घेतला घोडा । वांधा भाकरी जाऊं रोजगाराला । रोजगार घेतला घईन सईन । घरची अस्तुरी मामेभईण । बारवाचं पाणी कशानं आटलं । रोजगाराला गेले तीन दिवस नाहीं कंठलं । बसले राहूच्या पारावर । किंमत केली समईची । हूल दावली ममईची । वाट धरली सासुरवाडीची । अशी आई बरी । न्हीरी घालते घरच्या घरीं । जेवणार म्हणतो जेवीन । पोळ्या द्याव्या महंमदवाडीन् । पाडाचे आंबे महादेवाला वाह्यले । लक्ष्मण रावांसाठीं पवाराचे घर पाहिले ॥ [The last line gives the name and surname of the husband.]

WIFE:—There are many words for wife, some of which are common to the whole of the country, while others are peculiar to different parts of it. The husband never utters the name of his wife and so there are different ways of calling her or alluding to her.

patnī, bhājā or *bharajā, bāyako, bāil, bāiru, brāhmaṇi, lakṣmi, hokala, gharawāli, ghardhanīna kārbhārīṇa, kuṭumba* or *kuṭumbī, khaṭale, ū, ambuli:ū ardhāṅgi, novarī, stri, astrī, antur, asturī, saubhāgyāvatī.* The following foreign words are used by people settled in the Marāṭhā country:—*joru aurata, lugai, meherāla.* They were given to me by people belonging to the following castes respectively, Gosāvī, Paradeśi lodh, Pardesi govaṇḍī, and Rājput.

The word *patnī* is almost never used in daily speech, neither does it occur, except very rarely, in folksongs. It is however used in later literature or Brahmin literature of the past two or three centuries. As against this, the word *bhājā* or *bhārājā* (from Sanskrit *bhāryā*) is used from very olden times up to now. It occurs in song and proverb also.

[191]दुर्योधनाची भारजा भानुमती । दुर्योधनाची तिजवर नव्हती प्रीति । (The wife (*bhārajā*) of Duryodhana was Bhānumatī. Dhuryodhana did not love her.)

[192]मनि रुचला यादवराजा । कधिं होईन त्याची भाजा । (I loved the king of Yadus and thought when could I be his wife (*bhājā*)?)

[193]धन्य म्हणे राजा । ही माझी प्रजा । रजकाची भाजा धन्य झाली । The king said "praised be my people." The wife (*bhājā*) of the washerman was satisfied.)

[194]पती मम प्रियकर प्रियकरीण त्याची मी भाजा । (My husband is beloved by me; I am the beloved wife (*bhājā*) of my husband).

The words *bāyako, bāila, or bāilu* and *bāiru* are very common; the word *bāi* meaning woman is common to them, *ko, la, lu* and *ru* are suffixes.

[195]नवऱ्याचे पीठ बायकोचे मीठ (The husband's flour, the wife's salt.) [Both should earn something.]

[196]तासा आड बैल व दिसा आड बायको मारावी (Beat a bullock every other hour, beat a wife every other day.)

---

191 XVIII, part 3, p. 47.
192 Ibid., part 2, p. 93.
193 VIII, p. 641, 2293.
194 XLI, p. 58.
195 XXX, 1326.
196 Ibid., 1322.

[197]दुबळ्याची मरूं नये बाईल, गिरेस्थीचा मरूं नये घोव. (The wife of a poor man should not die, the husband of a Brahmin woman should not die.) [A poor man cannot get another wife, while a Brahmin woman is not allowed remarriage].

[198]मी लग्नाची बाइल याची हा तरि नवरा कसा (I am his wife by marriage and he behaves in this fashion!)

The word *brahmaṇi* is used in old literature for wife when speaking of a Brahmin family. In the same way *giresthī* is used in Konkaṇī to denote the wife of a well-to-do person.

[199]गोपाळ पंडित गांवा गेले : तवं तयांची ब्राह्मणी सरली : (Gopāḷa Paṇḍita had gone on a journey, when his wife (*brāhmaṇī*) died.)

The word *lakṣmī* or *lakṣimī* is also used for wife. The word originally means the goddess of wealth and auspiciousness. Wife is the presiding genius of the house and is therefore called *lakṣmī*. In Berar, the word *lakṣmī* is used for women in general. Sometimes the compound word *gṛha-lakṣmī*, meaning "the goddess of the house" is also used.

The word *hokala* is used on the west coast for bride or wife. It seems to be derived from Sanskrit *vadhū-kula.**

[200]होकलेक् कोण वाखाणतलो होकलेची आवय नाय झाल्यावर? (Who is going to praise the bride (*hokala*) if the bride's mother is not present?) *Gharavālī, gharadhanīna, kārbhārīṇa* all mean, one who is the mistress of the house, or one who is the manager of the house.

[201]घरधनी तुमी मिंया पिरतीची कारभारीण। (You are the master of the house. I am your beloved *kārabhārīṇa.*)

Kuṭumba means family, but the word is applied also to wife alone. A man will talk of his *kuṭumba* when he wishes to speak about the wife, *kuṭumbi* also means wife and is the Marāṭhī version of the Sanskrit word *kuṭumbinī.*

[202]मुला-लेकरांमधीं कुटुंबी साजरी दिसते—(A married woman i.e. a wife looks beautiful amongst children.) [The words of a childless woman.]

The word *khaṭale* is used to denote wife and children, or wife alone. *Khaṭale* is a word which denotes generally, a lot of furniture or household goods or some complicated situation or incident. When a man is a bachelor, he is free to move about and life is simple. When he is married, his movements are no longer free, his life is more complicated and it is supposed to be all due to his wife, who is hence termed *khaṭale.* In the same way, I have heard the word *gabāḷa* used

---

197 XXVI, 405. 198 XV, p. 24. 199 IV, p. 60, 186.
200 XXVI. 201 A popular Lāvaṇī. 202 XLI, p. 71.

* I am indebted to Prof. S. M. KATRE for this suggestion.

for wife in Sholapur. *Gabāḷa* means inconvenient or useless packages or refuse.

When a man speaks of his wife, he generally uses the pronoun *tī* i. e. she (yonder) or *hī* she (here). Thus he will say, आमची ही देवाला गेली आहे," i. e. "our wife (she, *hī*) has gone to the temple." The word *āmbulī* or *āmbuḷī* has already been discussed before (see page 368.)

The Sanskrit word *strī* for woman is used in its pure form or in its modifications *astrī*, or *asturī*. The Sanskrit word *antaḥpura* is modified to *antaura* or *anturī* and used for woman or wife.

[203]मग तो वाणियां म्हणे तुते देखोनी माझि अस्त्रि भ्याली. (Then the merchant said, "my wife (*astri*) was frightened at your sight".)

[204]हीराइसे तें पंडीतवासांची स्त्री. (Hīrāisā was the wife (*strī*) of Paṇḍitabāsa.)

[205]जे जाले असती उद्यत । झुंजावया ॥ अंतौरिया कुमरे । सांडौनिया भांडारे । शस्त्राग्री जिव्हारे । आरोपुनी ॥ (These have become ready for a fight, abandoning their wives (*antaurī*), children and wealth, with their lives planted on the end of their weapons.)

[206]जन्मला जयांचे उदरी । तयांसि जो विरोध करी । सखी मानिली अंतुरी तो एक मूर्ख ॥ (A fool is he, who quarrels with those, who gave him birth, and thinks that the wife (*anturī*) is the only friend.)

[207]गेला अस्तूरी म्हालाला । अगे राणी अस्तूयरी (He went to the chamber of his wife (*asturī*) and said, "O, wife (*astūyarī*), my queen.) *Saubhāgyavatī* is an epithet applied to all married women, whose husband is living. It means literally "the auspicious one". It is used sometimes for wife. The word *ardhāñgī* means "sharing half the body". In the *ardhanārī-nateśwara* (half man, half woman) form of the god Śiva, the goddess Umā is half of the body of her husband Śiva. The wife is thus half the husband; hence the word *ardhāñgī* is used for wife, though it is never a kinship term.

Other words taken purely from Sanskrit, like *kāntā*, *priyā* etc. occur in literature, but are not used in daily speech.

The word *navarī* means bride or a newly married woman. It is also written as *novarī*.

[208]आपणचि जाउनि भातारासि बरवी उपवर नोवरी पाहिली. (She herself went and sought out a good young bride (*novarī*) for her husband.)

CO-WIFE:—

Husband's other wife, whether she be living or dead, is equally real. She is called *savata*. The first wife of a man is always the status wife and is called the elder wife, even though she may be

---

203 XL, p. 42. 204 IV, 16, 56. 205 III, 1, 219-20.
206 XII, 2, 1. 8. 207 XXVIII, p. 91. 208 IV, 30, 97.

younger than the second wife. The word *savala* is written as *savatī* in older literature. A co-wife is also called *bahiṇa* i.e. sister.

If a woman marries a man whose first wife is dead, she has to wear a small figure representing the co-wife round her neck.

[209]वेदाते म्हणे मज हे सवती झाली (Said to the Vedas, that they had become like a co-wife i.e. rival (*savatī*).)

[210]आपण विईना, सवत साहीना (she would neither bear a child, nor tolerate a co-wife.)

THE REMARRIED WOMAN:—When a woman is married after divorcing the first husband or after the death of her first husband, she is called *pāṭācī* or *mhotrācī bāyako* (पाटाची or म्होत्राची बायको), i.e. a wife by *pāṭa* or *mhotura* (remarriage.) This second ceremony is not held to be on par with the first ceremony when a woman is married for the first time. It is marriage proper and is called *lagna*, while the second ceremony is called *pāṭa*. Among the Brahmins and other castes, which do not allow divorce or remarriage, there is no wife by *pāṭa*. The second husband is called *pāṭācā navarā* (पाटाचा नवरा).

[211]जिवन्त असतां लग्नवर मग कां करावा पाटाचा । (Why should one get a husband by *pāṭa* while the husband by the *lagna* ceremony (the first husband) is living?)

HUSBAND & WIFE:—The different terms for husband and wife are combined to form a compound word meaning husband and wife. Such are the words *navarā-bāyako, dādalā-bāil* and others. There are however single words which mean husband and wife, or bride and groom. These are *dampatī, varaule* or *ghara-varaute, mehuṇa, vohara, joḍā* or *joḍape, gṛhasthe.*

[212]भटोबासांपासि एकी दंपती भीक्षा केली: (A man and his wife (*dampatī*) became disciples of Bhaṭobāsa).

[213]ती अनादि घरवरौते । व्याली ब्रह्मादि प्रपंचाते । न सांडिती एकमेकांते । छाया तनु जैसी ॥ (These primeval husband and wife (*ghara-varaute*) gave birth to this cosmos. They never leave each other, like the body and its shadow).

The word *mehuṇa* is used often when a dinner is being given to a Brahmin and his wife. It is supposed to bring merit to feed a married pair, especially that of a Brahmin. *Mehuṇa bolāvaṇe* means to ask a married couple to meals.

Vohara is a word made up of two words *vadhū* and *vara*. It means bride and groom.

---

209 III, 16, p. 166. 210 XXX, 1310. 211 XIV, p. 2.
212 IV, p. 29, 94. 213 I, chap. 6, 5, p. 202.

[214]विवाहहोम निजनिर्धारी । वोहरे आणावीं वोहल्यावरी । श्रीराम वेढिला नरनारी । कडे नोवरी तुम्ही घ्या ॥ (The sacrifice after marriage was to be done. The bride and groom (*vohare*) were to be brought on the raised platform, when Rāma was surrounded by men and women, who requested him to take up his bride and carry her).

Joḍā and *joḍape* is used of a human pair as also of other animals.

[214a]जन्मवरी जोडा ईश्वरा राहू दे माझा—(O, God let our pair (*joḍā*) remain united for the whole life).

Gṛhastha is a householder; when used in plural, it means man and wife.

[215]समर्थासी नैवेद्य करावया लागोनी । त्रिभुवनगृहस्थे बैसली ॥ (The householder pair (*gṛhasthe*) of the whole world (Rāma and Jānakī) gave a meal to Samartha.)

DIFFERENT TERMS FOR WOMEN ACCORDING TO THEIR STATUS:—

The Marāṭhī language is rich in terms showing different phases of life to which a woman belongs. These are *kunvāra* or *kunvāriṇa, paravanṭī* or *parvanṭakariṇa* or *parakarī, nhāṇavalī, padarkariṇa, navarī, māghāriṇa. aheva* or *āyāva, savāṣṇa* or *sūvāsinī, sabhāgiṇa, lekurvāḷī, vāṇjha, vidhavā, rāṇḍa, hātariṭī, pāṇḍharyā kapāḷācī, boḍakī, bāḷantiṇa.*

The terms enumerated above indicate larger divisions in a woman's life or they show her status. There are other terms, which give a finer classification involving terms for e. g., a woman who is in childbed for the first time: *pahilaṭakariṇa*, a woman who gives birth to the second child without having menstruated between the first and the second conception: *miṇdhi bāḷntiṇa*, [the child of such a woman is supposed to be in the danger of lightening falling on it], a woman who has no children at the time of her death, or whose children are still-born: *marata vānjha.* Every such term denotes a definite attitude towards these women. This attitude is expressed by certain observances. These are however not so pronounced as in the case of the major categories given above. Not so long ago, women of different categories could be distinguished by their dress, ornaments behaviour etc. The presence of a woman in certain of these categories is held to be auspicious, while that of women in others is held to bring ill-luck.

Kunvāra, kunvāriṇa is an unmarried girl of any age. When marriages were contracted early, a *kunvāriṇa* was always a small girl. A *kunvāriṇa* wears particular kinds of ornaments and is not allowed to wear things, which are meant for a married woman. *Paravanṭī* or *paravanṭākariṇa* is a small girl who has not yet menstruated. The word refers to a particular kind of dress, such a girl used to wear. The *sārī* is so worn, that it does not cover the upper part of the body.

---

214 XLI, p. 58. 214a XII, p. 58. 215 XII, p. 78.

The word *parakarī* also refers to such a girl wearing a skirt. In the Marāṭhā country, all grown-up girls and women wear a sārī, while only young girls wear a skirt.

A *nhāṇāvalī* is a girl who has just menstruated for the first time. She is not allowed to touch the other members of the family. On this occasion of the first menstruation, certain semi-religious observances are found.

Padarakarīṇa is a girl or a woman who has come of age (i. e., menstruated) and wears her sari like a grown-up woman, covering the upper part of the body with one end of her garment. *Navarī* is the bride, *māghārīṇa* is a newly married girl, who is but an occasional visitor to her father-in-law's house, who is not yet firmly established in her husband's house. *Aheva* or *āyāva* is a married woman, whose husband is living. The words *savaṣṇa, suvāsinī* and *sabhāgiṇa* mean the same as *aheva.* This is supposed to be the most auspicious part of a woman's life.

[216]आयावचे गेला खेळूक रांडेचे बाबडे गेलां जल्मजुगाक् (The child of a woman whose husband is living (*āyāva*) has gone out to play if it dies, but when the child of a widow (*rāṇḍa*) dies, it is gone for ever.) [A woman with a husband can hope to have other children.]

Lekuravāḷi is a woman having children. There are many folk-songs showing the yearning of women for a child. There are also sayings which contrast the state of a childless woman with that of a woman with children.

[217]लेंकूरवाळीची वुटी उघडी भाकरीची । वांझ नारीच्या परवरी गोणी पडली साकरची। (The garment end of the mother (*lekuravāḷi*) is empty of bread, while on the verandah of the childless woman lies a sack full of sugar).

Vānjha is the woman without child and there is no end to folk-songs and proverbs which describe the sorrow or deride the condition of a childless woman.

[218]जिकडे गेली वांझ तिकडे झाली सांज (Where the childless woman (*vānjha*) goes, there she will stay till evening.) [She has no tie of children to call her back.]

The worst that can happen to a Hindu woman belonging to the higher castes, is to lose the husband and become a widow. *Vidhavā* is a woman whose husband is dead. The word *rāṇḍa* expresses the same meaning, and is used in proverbs and folk-literature. *Hātariti* is a woman whose hands are empty, i.e., without bangles; a widow is not allowed to wear bangles. This word is found most in Mahānubhāva literature. The expression *pāṇḍharyā kapālāci* means one whose forehead is white, i.e., a woman who is without the auspicious red mark, *kuṅkuma* on her forehead. Only unmarried girls and

[216] XXVI, 1616. [217] XXII, p. 419. [218] XXX, 1462.

married women with their husbands living are allowed to put this mark on their forehead. The word *boḍakī* refers to a woman who has shaved her head. This refers to the custom among Brahmins to shave the head of a woman whose husband has died.

विधवेला कुंकवाची उठाठेव कशाला ? (Why should a widow (*vidhavā*) give herself trouble about kunku?). [An oft-quoted proverb.]

[219]उमाइसे तिये हातरीतीं जाली—(Umāisā became an empty-handed woman, i.e., a widow (*hātarītī*)).

[220]बोडकी आली व केसकर झाली. (She came a shaved one (widow) and became one with hair.) [i.e., she married the master and became the mistress of the house.]

[221]करोनी कीर्तन मागती जे द्रव्य ते मानाने वैधव्य विधवा। (Demanding remuneration for singing hymns to gods is a thing as shameful as widowhood to a widow.)

SISTER'S HUSBAND AND WIFE'S BROTHER :—

The woman's husband and brother use reciprocal terms to designate their relationship. These terms are, *bhāṭo, sālā, sāḷā* and *mehuṇā* or *mevaṇo*. The word *bhaṇohī* or *bahiṇoī* is used in certain castes for sister's husband and is not a reciprocal term between a woman's husband and brother. The sister's husband is also called *pāhuṇā* or *pāvhaṇā* in certain castes.

The term *bhāṭo* is equivalent to Sanskrit *bhrātṛ*. It is used in Berar and C. P. and parts of Khandesh. It is an old term found in Mahānubhāva literature and in folk-songs of C. P.

[222]भास्करभट नागदेवाचा भाटो (Bhaskarabhat was the husband of Nagdeva's sister (*bhāto*).)

[223]कां ग वधतेस तुझ्या बंधूला। सहा महिन्यांनीं साडी घेईल तुला। भाटवा इमानाचा पुरा॥ (Why do you kill your brother? He will buy you a sārī at the end of six months. My *bhaṭavā*, your brother is an honest man).

[224]भणउनि असानेया होइजे : पुढां भाटुं धाडिजे॥ पाठीं आपण जाइजे : अमोलपणें॥ (Therefore have courage. Send your sister's husband (? *bhātu*) ahead of you and do you go afterwards without any harm.)

The word *sālā* or *sāḷā* is used also in Berar and parts of Khandesh. It is not used in the western Marāṭhā country as a kinship term, but as a term of abuse. Whether the term of abuse castes a light on the relationship between a man and his wife's brother or sister's husband cannot be determined. The word *sālā* seems to be the same as *śyālaka* or *śyāla*. The word *sālepaṇā* meaning the relation of *sālā* is also used. The relation is one of joking and references are found to

---

219 IV, 3, 1.
220 XXX. 1445.
221 VIII, *Ekanāth*, p. 412-418.
222 IV, Introduction, p. 16.
223 XX, p. 113.
224 VI, p. 40.

this feature of the relationship. The word *sāḷaka* is also found. The word *sālā* is sometimes pronounced as *sāyā* or *sārā*.

[225]हे कोण बायकोचे साले. (Who is this *sālā* of the wife?)

[226]साऱ्या मेहुण्या होईल कळी । कृष्ण करील रांडोळी । ते मी नवाळी पाहीन ॥ The *sāre* (wife's brothers) and *mehuṇe* (sister's husband) will quarrel and Kriṣṇa will crack jokes and I will see the fun.)

[227]एथ साळक सासुरे मातुळ । (Here are wife's brothers (*sāḷaka*) and wife's father and uncles and maternal uncles).

[228]झणे लाज धरिसी मनी सालेपणे तुजसी केला बाकरू । (You are ashamed but it was meant only as joking which is due to the relationship of *sālā*, i. e., being wife's brother.)

The word *mehuṇā* is very common. Besides wife's brother and sister's husband, it is also used for the male cross-cousin, i.e. for mother's brother's son or father's sister's son. *Mehuṇacāra* means the custom of the marriage of cross-cousins or the joking between two relatives who are *mehuṇe* to one another.

[229]कान पिळूं मेहुणे भिती । होईल रुक्मियाची गती ॥ (The wife's brothers were afraid to tweak his ear, as they thought that they would be reduced to the same condition as Rukhmī.) [During the marriage ceremony, it is the custom for the bride's brother to tweak the ear of the bridegroom. The bridegroom has to give a present to the brother of the bride to free his ear].

[230]मेहुणा जयाचा द्वारकेचा हरी । शंख दारोदारी भीक मागी ॥ (Śaṅkha, whose sister's husband (*mehuṇā*) is the Harī of Dvārakā, begs from door to door).

[231]विनोद मेहुणी मांडिला (His wife's brothers (*mehuṇā*) began to joke with him.)

The word *bhaṇohī* is equivalent to Sankrit *bhaginī-pati* and Prakrit *bhaiṇī-vaī*. It is a descriptive term made up of the two primary terms, *bahiṇa* (sister) and *pati* (husband). *Bhaṇohī* or *bahiṇoī* means sister's husband. This term is used by the Pāṭhāre Prabhu and the Rājputs in Khandesh.

The word *pāhuṇā* or *pavhaṇā* is also used for sister's husband in Poona and Satara districts by the Marāṭhās. It is also used by the Rājputs of Khandesh.

A peculiarity about the terms *mehuṇā*, and *bhāṭo* is that different terms are used for these relations according as they are younger or older, or higher or lower in status than the speaker. Thus wife's elder brother is called *bhāvojī* or *dājī* or *bhāva-sāsarā*. *Bhāva-sāsarā*

---

225 Amṛtarāya. 226 VIII, A, p. 98. 227 III, I, p. 20.
228 II, p. 21. 229 VIII, A, p. 237.
230 ... Tulārāma, p. 285-4 '43. 231 VIII, A, p. 12-148.

means one who is like the father-in-law. A man has to behave very respectfully to his wife's elder brother while he is on terms of familiarity and joking with his wife's younger brother. The elder sister's husband is called *bhāvojī* and a man has to be respectful to him, while the younger sister's husband is called *bahiṇa jāvai* and a man may joke with him. Elder sister's husband is often called *dājī*. The word *dājī* is also used for sister's husband.

[231a]ऐक बा दाजी कर्णा—(O, Karṇa, my sister's husband (*dājī*) listen).

SISTER'S HUSBAND (woman speaking):—

A woman uses the same words as a man for sister's husband. A woman treats her younger sister's husband as her son-in-law, and uses different terms for her elder sister's husband and her younger sister's husband.

The husband of the elder sister may not only joke, but may also marry a woman. The joking may be of a very ribald type.

[232]नासिकासि लाविला चुना, होता मेहुणा, टवाळी केली ॥ (Lime was applied to her nose. As he was her elder sister's husband (*mehuṇā*) he practised this trick on her).

The elder sister's husband is called *bhāvojī* while the younger sister's husband is called *bahiṇa-jāvaī*. Lovers' songs in which the two lovers call each other *vahinī* and *bhāvojī* seem to point out to this usage. The lovers are either considered as cross-cousins or the man is the husband of the elder sister. In this connection the notorious story of Candrāvaḷa and Kriṣṇa is of interest. Kriṣṇa was the lover of all the young women in Gokuḷa except the pretty Candrāvaḷa, or Candrāvaḷī, the younger sister of his wife Rāī or Rāhī. Candrāvaḷa was a virtuous young girl, who would not yield to the charms of Kriṣṇa, so Kriṣṇa consulted his wife Rāhī, who gave him advice as to how to get Candrāvaḷā. Kriṣṇa was given the dress of a woman and made to look like Rāhī. In this disguise he went to Candrāvaḷa, was received by her as her sister and possessd her ultimately in this false guise. There are numerous songs on this theme. Not a single song has a word of pity for Candrāvaḷa or a word of anger against Kriṣṇa. In one song Rāhī, the wife of Kriṣṇa, is taunted as the procuress, who got her sister for Kriṣṇa ("बहिणीची बाई तूं गे झालीस कुंटणी"). I believe the song and the theme reflect an old custom, by which a man had sexual rights over all the younger sisters of his wife.

[234] बहिणीमुळें भावोजी सोयरा. (The *bhāvoji* (elder sister's husband) becomes a relative because of the sister).

WIFE'S SISTER and FEMALE CROSS-COUSIN:—

There are many words for wife's sister. They are *mehuṇī*, *sāḷi* or *sārī*. Wife's elder sister is called *akkadasāsu* or *hunji* and a man

---

[231a] XVIII, part 3, p. 47.
[232] XVIII, part II, p. 97.
[233] XLIV, p. 48,
[234] XXX, 1416,

has to behave very respectfully to her, while a man is on terms of utmost familiarity with his wife's younger sister. The word *akkada-sāsu* is found in Berar and C. P. The word *hunjī* was given by a Marāṭhā lady also in Berar.

[235] आमचीये आकडसासूचे गुरु आले. (The preceptor of the elder sister of my wife (*ākadasāsu*) has come.)

[236] साली सासवा आवडती । बहीणभावा तोंडी माती ॥ (He likes the wife's sister (*sālī*) and the mother-in-law, while the own brother and sisters, he neglects).

[237] आतां भ्रतार येईल तुझा बाहेरून । तो थट्टा करील माझी मेव्हणीच्या नात्यानं ॥ (Your husband will come home and joke with me because I stand to him in the relationship of *mehuṇī* (wife's sister).)

[238] घरांत नाहीं मेहुणी व सासूशी रांडोली (his sister-in-law (*mehuṇī*) is not at home, so he jokes with his mother-in-law.) [This is supposed to be very bad behaviour].

मेहुणी अर्धी बायको (Wife's sister is half one's wife's.) [An oft-quoted saying.]

[239] तूं ग नात्यानें आमची मेहुणी । माझ्या आवड प्रीतीची पाहुणी । बस कडवर येउन वहिनी ॥ (By relation you are my *mehuṇī* (cross-cousin?). I love you greatly, come and sit in my lap, O *vahiṇī* (cross-cousin?).

HUSBANDS OF SISTERS:—

The husbands of sisters call each other *sāḍu* or *sāḍhu* or *sāḍa-bhāu*. The word occurs in Hindī also and is written as *sāḍhu*. The word seems to be derived from the Sanskrit words *saha-vadhu* or *sārdhaka*,[240] the former meaning "those who have common or similar wives", the latter meaning "one who has half a share". Sisters are similar in status and so their husbands are *sāḍus*. In the light of what is written above while explaining the word *mehuṇī* and the proverb that *mehuṇī* is half a wife, the derivation *sārdhaka*, sharing half or having the same wife, seems to be justified. Both the explanations fit the sociological concept of the *sāḍu* relationship. In Tamil the word *āddaga* is used for sisters' husbands and these two relatives are said to be always at loggerheads with each other. In Marāṭhī there is one proverb which is contrary to the Tamil usage and praises the *sāḍu*.

[241] सोयऱ्यांत साडू, हऱ्यारांत माडू, भोजनांत लाडू (Wife's sister's husband among relatives, *māḍū* in weapons and sweet balls among eatables.)

---

235 V, part IV, p. 10.
236 X, Nāmadeva, 187-1826.
237 XIV, p. 56.
238 XXX, 1309.
239 XVI, no paging to the book.
240 I am indebted to Prof. S. M. KATRE for this etymology.
241 XXX, 1907.

WIVES OF BROTHERS :—

Wives of brothers call each other *jāu, jāva* or *jāvaśī.* Some of my informants have given words like *bahiṇābāi* or *jijibāi* both meaning sister. While addressing each other, the wives of brothers call one another *bāi* i. e. sister or lady. The word *jāu* or *jāva* seems to be derived from the Sanskrit *jāyā* or *jami.** The derivation from *jāmi* seems probable, though the Marāṭhī word *jāva* does not contain the nasal which is usual in such cases as e. g. in the word *jāvaī.* The rule about the nasal however does not seem to be without exception. The word *jāvaḷa,* meaning twin, is derived from the word *jamalaka* and is written without a nasal even in old literature.

[242]कीं मदनाचा जावळिया (As it were the twin (*jāvaḷiā*) of the God Madana.)

[243]तयाचिये भार्येसि दोनि लेंकुरें जावळिं जाहालीं (His wife gave birth to twin (*jāvaḷi*) children).

In the same way the word *jāu* or *jāva* is written without a nasal after *ja.* Thus by derivation the word means sisters, which is in harmony with the usage by which these relatives call each other *jijibāi* or *bāi.*

[244] धोंवाक ना भाव, माका खंयची जाव (My husband has no brother; how can I have a sister-in-law. i. e., husband's brother's wife ?)

[245] नणंद ना जाव सुसेगड व्हाव (There is neither husband's sister, nor his brother's wife; live, therefore in happiness). सख्खे भायजी उभे दायजी, सख्ख्या जावा उभा दावा is a popular saying which portrays the rivalry between wives of brothers living in a common joint household. It means (brothers always quarrel for inheritance, their wives always hate each other).

[246] धाकटे जावेसी । प्रीतीकर । नवविध रत्नांचा हार । कंठी घातला मनोहर । येरी नमस्कार तियेसी केला ॥ बाई जें जें तुम्ही शिकविले । तें तें मज हितासि आले । (She placed a string of jewels round the neck of the wife of the younger brother of her husband (*dhākaṭi jāu*) and the young *jāu* bowed to her and said, "O, wife of the elder brother of my husband (*bāi*), whatever you have told me is for my own good.)

HUSBAND'S BROTHER :—

Husband's elder brother is called *bhāva* or *bhāvā* or *bhāvoji,* while the younger brother is called *dīra.* In modern times among certain communities the term *dīra* is reserved for all brothers of the husband, who are also called *bhāvoji* in direct speech. In the old literature however and among many communities like the Marāṭhās and the

* I am indebted Prof. KATRE for this suggestion.

242 VI, 264.
243 XL, Pañatāntra, p. 62.
244 XXVI, 420.
245 *Ibid.*, 1662.
246 VIII, A, 18, 55, 56,

Sārasvats of the west coast, the distinction between *bhāva* and *dīra* is clearly understood and kept up in daily speech. A woman has to behave very respectfully, in fact in certain communities she has to avoid the presence of, the elder brother of her husband, i. e., her *bhāva.* She is however on terms of great familiarity and joking with the younger brothers of her husband. The term *bhāvojī* is applied to all brothers of the husband as also to male cross-cousins by a woman. As there is the custom of cross-cousin marriage, the male cross-cousin becomes either the husband or the husband's brother and is called *bhāvojī,* or *dīra* even before marrige. (cf. pp. 351, 377). Mention has already been made of songs in which lovers call each other *bhāvojī* and *vahinī.*

[247]सासु सासरे भावे दिरे । आदिकरुन लहान थोर । होउन अवघ्यासी सादर । अति तत्पर सेवेसी ॥ (You should remain ever ready to serve the mother-in-law, the father-in-law, the elder bothers of your husband (*bhāve*), the younger brothers of your husband (*dire*) and other old and young persons of your husband's household.)

[248]उठा भावोजी चलावे लौकरी । वहिनी मी खरी । नात्यानें मेहुणी कवळी आहे कैरी ॥ (Get up *bhāvoji,* I am your *vāhinī,* by relation *mehuṇī,* delicious as an unripe mango.) [A girl and her lover are addressing each other as *bhāvojī* and *vahinī* in this song. Apparently they are cross-cousins.] The word *dājī* is also used for husband's brother.

BROTHER'S WIFE (man and woman speaking):—The kinship term for brother's wife is a descriptive one. It is *bhāvaja* or *bhāvajaya* made up of two primary words *bhāū,* brother and *jāyā,* wife. In daily speech and in song the word *vahinī* is used. The word is found in old literature also, where it is written as *vohiṇī.* On the west coast it is written as *honnī.* On the plateau i.e. in Berar, Khandesh, Nagar, and Poona the word changes to *vanji* or *hunji.* It is really applied to the elder brother's wife and is made up of two word *vadhū* the bride, and *aṇṇī* eldest. It means the wife of the elder brother, who is termed simply *vahinī* or *hunjī,* whereas the younger brother's wife is called by name or the term *vahinī* is added to the personal name. Among Citrāpur Sāraswats the wife of the younger brother is called *suḷī* or *suvaḷī.* Another informant has given the word *bhāva-suna* for the wife of the younger brother. The informant is a Mahāra from Nagpur.

[249]ज्येष्ठ बंधूची जे राणी । रेवती कृष्णाची वहिनी (The wife of the elder brother Revatī, the *vahinī* of Kriṣṇa)

[250]कृष्ण वोहिणींचे बिरडे फेडी। आपुलीये चाडे सुभद्रा हे लाडे बोललीसे । (Subhadrā spoke in a coaxing tone O, Kriṣṇa, loosen the knot of the garment of my *vohiṇī,* your wife).

---

247 VIIIA, 18.53.
248 XVI.
249 VIIIA, 14.75.
250 VIII, 2778.

That the term *vahinī* is also used for the daughter of the maternal uncle and the paternal aunt has already been noticed (see p. 24).

[251]तंव तो म्हणे तुझिया भाउजया मज निर्भीर्छिले । (Then he said, your brother's wife (the wife of myself who am your brother) i. e., my wife, was very angry with me.)

[252]गोरे भावजय भांग कर तू सरसा । सखा विठ्ठरी आरसा भाईराजा (O, beautiful wife of my brother, part your hair well, for my brother is like a true mirror.)

The brother, sister and the brother's wife are an eternal triangle in the folksongs of Mahārāṣṭra. I have already mentioned some songs on this theme.

HUSBAND'S SISTER:—

The kinship term common to all Mahārāṣṭra is *naṇanda* from Sanskrit *nanāndṛ*. In the daily speech however the following terms are used: *vansa, hunji, honnī, vahinī*, and *bāī*. These terms are the same as those used for brother's wife. The term *vansa* which appears to be different, is made up of the term *vahinī* or *vainī* and the suffix *sa*. It is the plural of *vahini*, and is used always in that sense. Even when addressing a person as *vansa* the verb is used always in the plural form. Thus it would appear, that there is one reciprocal term for brother's wife and husband's sister, i. e. *vahinī*, just as there is one reciprocal term for sister's husband and wife's brother, i. e., *mehuṇā*. A man's wife and his sister are each other's *vāhinī*. When two men exchange sisters, it is called *sāṭe loṭe*, and is not considered very desirable in the Marāṭhā country, though such marriages do take place. In such an exchange, two women can call each other *vahinī*. But now, even when there is no such exchange, the terms showing reciprocity are used.

The terms *naṇanda* (husband's sister) and *bhāvajaya* (brother's wife) are not used in a reciprocal way.

Next to the mother-in-law, the sister of the husband is dreaded greatly by the bride.

[253]सासेचा सासुरवास नका करूं नंदेबाई । पुनरपी येणं नाहीं जन्मासी या (O, *naṇanda* (husband's sister), do not be as harsh as the mother-in-law. This birth comes to us but once.)

[254]सासेचा सासुरवास । नंदेची लावणी । दीड दिवसाची पाहुणी वन्सबाई ॥ (The mother-in-law treats me harshly. The *naṇanda* helps her. O, *vansa*, you are but the guest of a day and half.)

[255]बहु दीस झाले वाटतसे खंती । केधवा भेटती बाई मज ॥ (Many days have elapsed and I am yearning to see my "husband's sister" (*bāī*).)

---

251 XL, *Pañcatantra*, p. 49.
252 XX, p. 103.
253 XX, 102.
254 *Ibid.*
255 X, *Soyarābāi*, p. 88.

HUSBAND'S MOTHER, WIFE'S MOTHER, MOTHER'S BROTHER'S WIFE, and FATHER'S SISTER :—

The common word for the husband's mother and wife's mother is *sāsu*, derived form the sanskrit word *śvaśrū*. Another word is, however, also used and it is common for the two relations above, as also for mother's brother's wife. The word is *māmī*. The word *māvalaṇa* is also used and it includes, besides the three relations above, also the father's sister. The word *māmī* is used for the mother-in-law by both men and women. The word *māvalaṇa* is used by some castes for mother's brother's wife and by others for father's sister. When the word is used for father's sister, it is used by a woman for her husband's mother on the plateau. In the same region the word *āte* (father's sister) is also used by a woman for the mother-in-law.

[256]कानाला कोपर जडेना, सासू मेली जांवई रडेना । (The elbow will not touch the ear and the son-in-law will not cry when his mother-in-law (*sāsū*) dies.

[257]चार दिवस सासूचे चार दिवस सुनेचे ॥ (Four days of the mother-in-law's (*sāsū*) authority and four days of the daughter-in-law's authority.)

[258]जी, जी, हे सासूसासरेया नावडे (Sir, she is not liked by her mother-in-law (*sāsū*) and her father-in-law).

[259]दुसरी गौळण म्हणे यशोदे मामी (The second milkmaid said O, mother-in-law (*māmī*) Yaśodā.)

For *māvalaṇa* see under father's sister (see p. 346).

HUSBAND'S FATHER, WIFE'S FATHER, FATHER'S SISTER'S HUSBAND AND MOTHER'S BROTHER :—

Husband's father and wife's father are called *sāsarā*, which is derived from the Sanskrit word *śvaśura*. There is however, another term used for these relations, which is the same as that for the mother's brother and the father's sister's husband. The term is *māmā* or *māmājī* or *māmanjī*. Father's sister's husband has generally no name given to him, he being described as the husband of the aunt. But when I asked how the relationship could be expressed, I was invariably given the answer, that the relation in question was that of the *māmā*. The term *ātobā* for father's sister's husband is very rarely used.

[261]नेत्रे पुसोनि पदरे पतिस म्हणे भेटतील मामाजि । (She wiped his tears with her garment and said to her husband, you shall meet *māmājī* (your father, my father-in-law).

[261]ती सुमती म्हणे राज्यभ्रंशे बहु खिन्न सासुरा होतो । (The woman of good

256 XXX, 1350.
258 V, part 2, p. 40.
260 XXIX, Vanaparva, 502.
257 A very popular proverb.
259 XVIII, part 1, p. 47.

thoughts said "my father-in-law (*sāsurā*) has become despondent at the loss of his kingdom.")

[261a]लक्ष्मण शेषाचा अवतार माहित नाहीं तुजला अजुन । उजव्या हातानें डावा हात तोडिला मामानी ग ॥ (You do not yet know that Laksmaṇa is an incarnation of Śeṣā, your father. The father-in-law (*māmā*) has cut the left arm with the right hand.)

MOTHER'S SISTER'S HUSBAND:—

Mother's sister is called *mauśī* and her husband is called either *kākā* or *māusa*. The word *kākā* is also used for father's brother.

FATHER'S BROTHER'S WIFE:—

Father's brother is called *culatā* or *kākā* and his wife is called *culatī* or *kākī*. The Chitrapur Sāraswats call father's brother's wife *pāccī*, a term which they also use for mother's sister. The usage is not strange when we remember, that on the plateau the mother's sister's husband is called *kākā*.

[262]नारायण मारीयेला टाकीला खंदकात् चुलती जेवीती दूधभात् । (Nārāyaṇa was killed and thrown in the moat, and his father's brother's wife (*culatī*) ate rice and milk.) [263]ये तुम्हासी काई होति ॥ जी जीः संबन्धीये तथा चुलती ("How are you connected with this woman"? "Sir, she is a relation, that is, my father's brother's wife (*culatī*)")

HUSBAND'S BROTHER'S SON AND DAUGHTER AND WIFE'S SISTER'S SON AND DAUGHTER:—

The son of the husband's brother is either called own son or *putaṇyā*. The same term is applied by a man to his wife's sister's son, though there is no definite relationship recognised between a man and his wife's sister's son. The daughter of the husband's brother and wife's sister is reckoned as own daughter and called *duvaḍī* or *putaṇī*.

HUSBAND'S SISTER'S SON AND DAUGHTER, WIFE'S BROTHER'S SON AND DAUGHTER are called *bhācā* and *bhācī*.

SON'S WIFE:—

Son's wife is called generally *sūna* from Sanskrit *snuṣā*. The word *vāhārī* or *vāyarī* is used in Berar, the word *hokkaḷa* is used in Goa.

[264]आणि आकाइसा आणि माहादोबासांची ब्राह्मणि या दोघी सासुसुनां सांघातु लाविला ॥ (Then he set Akāisā and Mahādevabāsā's wife, the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, (*sūna*) together for the purposes of begging.)

[265]सासूसाठीं रडे सून । भाव अंतरीचा भिन्न ॥ (The daughter-in-law (*sūna*) mourns for the mother-in-law but the feeling in her heart is quite different.)

The daughter-in-law is addressed as *mulī* i. e. daughter. The word *hokkaḷa* has already been discussed. (see p. 370.)

The word *vāhārī* seems to be derived from *vohara* i. e. *vadhūvara*.

---

261 *Ibid.*, 499. 262 XXII, 414. 263 V, part 3, p. 35.
264 IV, 115. 265 X, Tukārāma, 164, 2595.

BRIDE :—

The word *vadhū* or *vahū* is not found in the daily speech but it is found in literature. The bride is called *navarī* or *navarī-mulagī*. The bride's mother is called *vohumāya*.

[265a]विधी गृहप्रवेशासी । वधूवरे बैसविली भाणवसासी ॥ There was ceremonial entering of the house when the bride and groom (*vadhūvara*) were made to sit in the kitchen.)

[265b]कोणे नाचविले कृष्णनाथा । नोवरी नाचविता कोण झाला ॥ (Who danced with Kriṣṇa on the shoulders? Who was it who took the bride (*navarī*) on his shoulders for a dance?)

BRIDE'S SISTER and GROOM'S SISTER :—

The terms for the bride's brother and wife's brother are the same. But the bride's sister and especially the groom's sister during the marriage ceremony have a definite name. They are called *karavalī*, that is, one who has the *karā* and *divā* (the sacred pot and the lamp), which are important in the marriage ceremony. They also receive presents for these services, especially respect being paid to the groom's sister.

[266]करवली सुभद्रा वहिण गजारोहणी मिरवती । (The *karavalī*, sister Subhadrā, was driven in state on the back of an elephant).

DAUGHTER'S HUSBAND :—

Daughter's husband is called *jāvaī* in all the dialects of Marāṭhī. The word is derived from Sanskrit *jāmātṛ*.

[267]हे जावाई करावया आणिले असती (This gentleman is brought here to be made a son-in-law. (*jāvāi*))

सासवेचे दोंदावर जांवई उदार [A popular proverb.](A son-in-law (*jāvai*) is liberal with the distended paunch of his mother-in-law) [uses the propery of his mother-in-law].

THE BRIDE-GROOM :—

The bride-groom is called *vara* or *navarā-mulagā*. There are many words derived from this word and used for different things and people at the marriage ceremony. Thus *varamāya* means the mother of the bride-groom, *varhāḍa* means the people belonging to the groom's party, though in modern times the word is used indiscriminately for the people of the bride's party also. *Vara-dakṣiṇā* is the money given to the groom by the bride's father and *varāta* is the marriage procession, when the bride is taken to her new house.

BRIDE-GROOM'S BROTHER :—

The bridegroom's younger brother is called *pāṇa-jāvaī* or *karavalā*. He is given a present and sits near the bridegroom to take his meals.

265a 265b

266 VIII, A, 14, 74. 267 V, part I, p. 39.

In parts of the Ratnāgirī District this relation is called *ṭokaṇā* or *dheḍā*. If the groom has no brother, this office is taken up by some male relative, preferably a cousin, who is younger than the bride-groom.

SON'S WIFE'S FATHER, DAUGHTER'S WIFE'S FATHER :—

These two relatives are each other's *vyāhī*, *viāhī* or *veyu* i.e. men related to each other through the marriage of their children. A woman also calls her son's or daughter's father-in-law *vyāhī*.

[268]व्याही पाहुणा आला तरी रेडा दुभत नाहीं. (A male buffalo does not yield milk even if the 'daughter's husband's father' (*vyāhī*) comes as a guest.)

[269]भीमक गौरवी व्याहियांसी. (Bhīmaka paid his respects to the elders of Kriṣṇa.)

All the people who belong to the father's generation and to the generation above of the groom and bride i.e. their uncles and grandfathers are called *vyāhī*.

SON'S WIFE'S MOTHER AND DAUGHTER'S HUSBAND'S MOTHER :—

The most common word is *vihiṇa* or *ihīṇa* and *veṇī* though some of my informants have given *vahinī* or *hunjī* as alternate terms. The mothers of the bride and groom are each other's *vihīṇa* or *vihiṇī*. The word is the feminine of the word *vyāhī* and means two women who have become related by the marriage of their children. During the marriage ceremony the bride's mother is called *vohu-māya* i. e. *vadhu* + *māya*, bride's mother; and the groom's mother is called *vara-māya*. They have different status and receive different kinds of presents on different occasions. The *vara-māya* is supposed to be superior to the *vohu-māya*, who has to keep a servile attitude to the former during the marriage ceremony. Among those castes, and they are in the majority in the Marāṭhā country, where cross-cousins marry, the mothers of the married pair are related to each other as *vahinī* and *hunji* i. e. the one is the wife of the brother of the other.

All the women belonging to the ascendent generation of the bride and groom are called *vihinī*.

LIST OF BOOKS REFERRED TO IN THIS PAPER

Note:—The books referred to in this paper are mostly Marāṭhī books. Their titles, when transliterated make difficult reading in foot-notes. They are therefore given in full in the list below and are mentioned in the foot-notes by Roman numerals. As far as possible, the dates, when the books were first written, are given, as also the dates of their publication. In the case of collections of folk-songs no definite date can be given.

---

[268] XXI. [269] VIII A, 14, 88.

	NAME OF BOOK	AUTHOR.	APPROXIMATE DATE
I.	Sārtha Vivekasindhu	Mukundarāya.	1188
II.	Ādya Marāṭhī Kavayitrī : (i) Dhavaḷe. (ii) Mātṛkī Ṛkmiṇī Svayaṁvara	Edited by V. N. Deshpande (1935) Mahadaisa the author is supposed to have lived before Jñaneśvara.	1270(?)
III.	Jñāneśvarī	Jñāneśvara. Edited by R. V. Madgavkar, 1907.	1290
IV.	Smṛti Sthaḷa	Narendra (?) Edited by V. N. Deshpande, 1939.	1290-1300
V.	Līḷācaritra, Parts I to IV	Mahīndrabhaṭṭa : Edited by H. V. Nene, 1937.	1290-1300
VI.	Śiśupālavadha	Bhāskarabhaṭṭa Borikar : Edited by V. L. Bhave, 1926.	1308
VII.	Śrī Ṛddhipuravarṇana	Paṇḍit Nārāyaṇa Vyāsa Bahāḷiye : Edited by Y. K. Deshpande, 1929.	1363
VIII.	Abhaṅga	Ekanātha : Edited by Tukaram Tatya, 1903.	1560
VIIIA.	Śrī Ṛukmiṇī Svayaṁvara	Ekanātha : Edited by J. R. Ajagāvkar, 1924.	1560
IX.	Śrī Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa	Ekanātha Mahārāja : Edited by B. S. Devasthali, 1917.	1560
X.	Gāthā-pañcaka	Edited by T. H. Avate, 1924.	1290-1630
XI.	Mahābhārata	Tukārāma : Edited by T. H. Oka, 1898.	1635
XII.	Śrī Samartha Pratāpa	Śrī Giridhara : Edited by S. S. Deva, 1912.	1720
XIII.	Laghukāvyamālā	Various Marathi poets (part IV) : Edited by N. C. Kelkar and D. K. Oka, 1903.	
XIV.	Lāvaṇī Vāṅmaya	Anantaphandī : Edited by S. T. Śāḷigrāma.	1820
XV.	Lāvaṇī	Paruśurāma : Edited by S. T. Śāḷigrāma.	1830
XVI.	Lāvaṇī va Gavaḷaṇī (there is no paging in the book)	Paṭṭhe Bāpurāva : Edited by G. G. Adhikari, 1928.	

	NAME OF BOOK	AUTHOR	APPROXIMATE DATE
XVII.	Kahāṇyā (Part 1, 2)	Edited by L. N. Godbole, 1930.	
XVIII.	Strī-Gīta-Ratnākara (Part 1-3)	Edited by Parvatibai Gokhale, 1924.	
XIX.	Lokakathā (Vol. 1-2)	Edited by S. G. Date.	1929
XX.	Lokakathā va Lokagīte	Edited by V. V. Joshi.	1936
XXI.	Marāṭhī Bhaṣetīla Mhaṇī-Ratnamālā	Edited by R. R. Solnikar. 1937.	
XXII.	Vārṣika Itivṛtta	Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala : Edited by K. C. Mehendale.	1913
XXIII.	Vārṣika Itivṛtta	Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala : Edited by K. C. Mehendale.	1914
XXIV.	Kavyaketakī	Sopanadev Chaudharī.	1932
XXV.	Tāmbe Yañcī Samagra Kavitā	B. R. Tambe : Edited by M. T. Patwardhan.	1935
XXVI.	Florilégio de Proverbios Concanis	Monsenhor Sebastiao Rodolfo Dalfado, 1922.	1922
XXVII.	Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprache	Walde und Pokorny.	
XXVIII.	Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.	Vol. I, No. 1.	1939
XXIX.	Moropantāce Samagra Grantha	Moropanta : Edited by R. R. Paradkar, 1912.	
XXX.	Marāthi Proverbs	Mainwaring, Oxford, 1899.	
XXXI.	Mahārāṣṭra Sāhitya Pariṣad Traimāsika.	Poona.	1939
XXXII.	Dvitīya Sammelana Vṛtta	Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala : Edited by K. C. Mehendale.	1914.
XXXIII.	Mulīñcyā Phugadyā, Part 1, 2.	Edited by B. L. Pathak.	
XXXIV.	Vārṣika Itivṛtta	Same as XXXII : Edited by K. C. Mehendale and D. V. Potdar.	1916

	NAME OF BOOK	AUTHOR	APPROXIMATE DATE
XXXV.	Ṣaṇmāsika Vṛtta	Same as XXXII : Edited by K. C. Mehendale and D. V. Potdar.	1912
XXXVI.	Tṛtīya Sammelana Vṛtta	Same as XXXII : Edited by K. C. Mehendale and D. V. Potdar.	1915
XXXVII.	Lāvaṇyā	Ramajośī : Edited by S. T. Shaligrām, 1908.	1800
XXXVIII.	Lāvaṇyā	Honājī Bāla : Edited by S. T. Shaligrām, 1908.	
XXXIX.	Śrī Samartha Rāmadāsañce Samagra Grantha.	Rāmadāsa : Edited by A. C. Bhat, 1916.	
XL.	Mahārāṣṭrakavi (Māsika)	Edited by L. L. Bhave.	1906

XLI. Lāvaṇī. This is a small book printed in litho press. The first and last pages are missing. It was lent to me kindly by Mr. S. N. Phatak of Poona.

XLII. Saṅgīta Saubhadra Nāṭaka : Kirloskor : Edited by A. V. Patwardhan, 1929.

XLIII. Ukhāṇe va Mhaṇī. Edited by D. V. Phataka, 1938.

XLIV. Strīgāyanasaṅgraha. Edited by Sakharam P. Pandit, 1882.

MAR 30 1940

VI

SPEECHES DELIVERED AT THE DINNER

Given by the Management of

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION CO., LTD.,

in honour of

THE COMPANY'S PATRONS, THE SHIPPERS,

AT THE SCINDIA HOUSE,

BOMBAY,

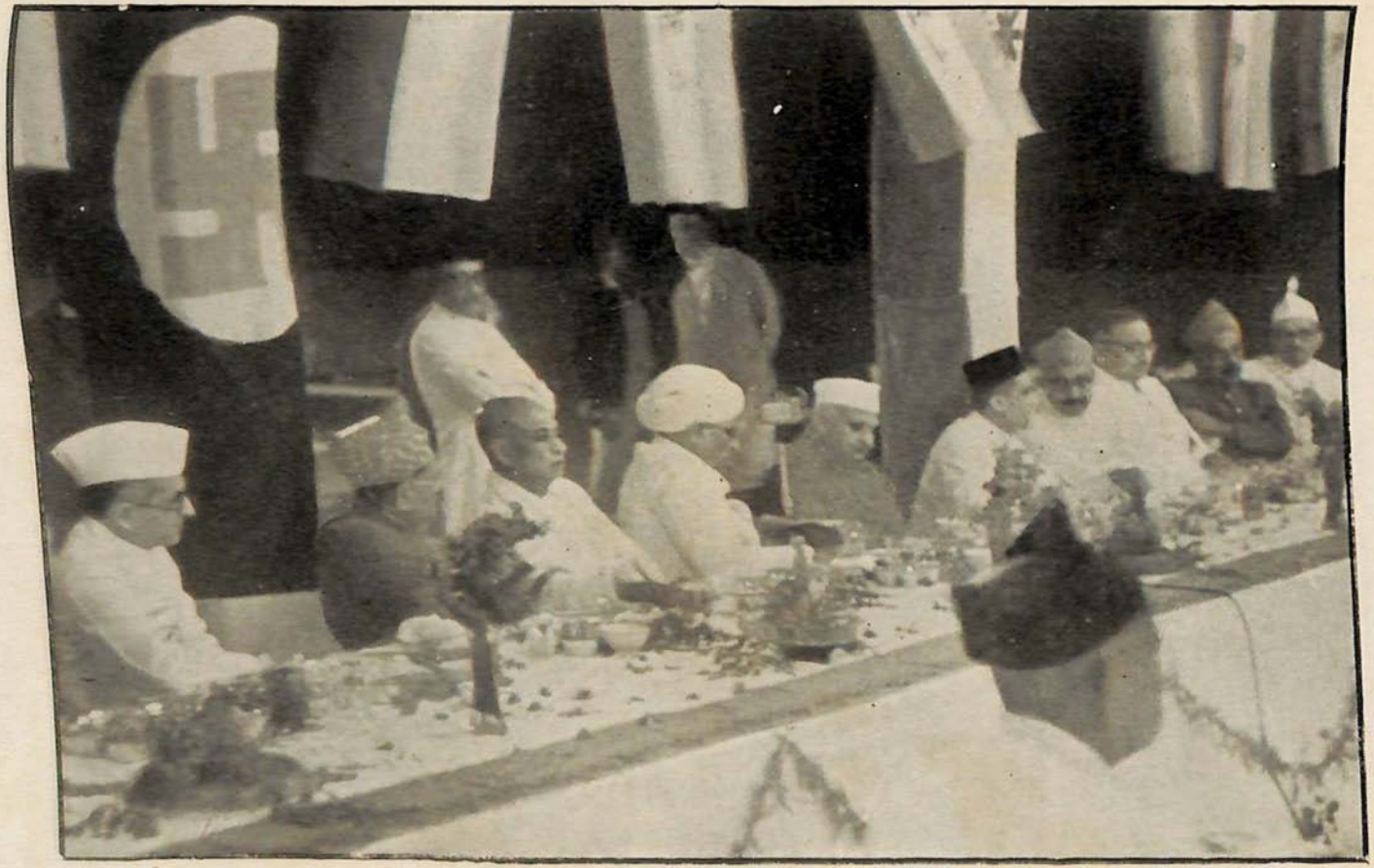
on Monday, the 29th January, 1940.

Pht-6

GOD
387.54 1954
Sci/Spc

— INDEX —

	Page No.
Mr. WALCHAND HIRACHAND'S SPEECH OF WELCOME ..	1
Mr. DEVJIBHAI'S REPLY	10
SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL'S SPEECH	14
SJT. BHULABHAI DESAI'S SPEECH	19



Sheth Walchand Hirachand welcoming the Guests.

Sheik Wakkad Hirachand welcoming the Guests.

Mr. Walchand Hirachand in welcoming the guests made the following speech :—

Sardar Vallabhbhai, Shriyut Bhulabhai, Sheth Devjibhai,

Patrons of the Scindia Company, and Friends,

On behalf of the Scindia Company and myself let me offer to you all our sincere thanks for accepting our invitation and honouring the Scindia Company by your presence at this Dinner tonight.

We are deeply indebted to you Sardar Saheb, and to you, Shriyut Bhulabhai and to you, Shriyut Munshi for the honour that you have done to us tonight by gracing this Dinner by your presence and thus adding to the importance of this occasion. It is a matter of great good fortune of the Scindia Company that even during the constant and courageous fight which you have been carrying on for the establishment of Purna Swaraj in India, you have not forgotten the significance of the comparatively small struggle which the Scindia Company, as the vital part of the Indian shipping industry, has to face in this country. It is the misfortune of this country that many of its industries have to defend themselves for their very existence, sacrificing all their own, against the strangulating struggle carried on against them by the foreign vested interests. It is, therefore, natural that the Indian industrialists are anxious to enlist the support and seek the co-operation of national leaders like yourselves. National leaders join hands with the Indian industrialists and extend to them their support and co-operation in the faith that the economic independence of India will lay the solid foundation of India's Swaraj. Indian industrialists, therefore, receive new strength and new inspiration to stand firmly and courageously against the strangulating invasions of the vested interests. Foreig-

ners do not succeed in their intrigues against the Indian interests. Indian industrialists secure the power of shaping fresh corner stones of economic independence. These new stones build up the foundation of India's Swaraj and make it strong and unshakable. My heart, therefore, bows down with gratitude to you, the national leaders, who make all this possible and who have honoured us tonight by your presence at this Dinner.

Sardar Saheb, I am a selfish man and I am afraid I shall have to remain as such. How many times have I spoiled your evenings and deprived you of your peace of mind by troubling you again and again with the narration of the difficulties, hardships and struggles which the Indian shipping industry has to face in this country—evenings when you take a little stroll on the promenade near the Worli Sea Face to get a little rest and repose after your hard day's work? I cannot say how can I help troubling you like this, as wisdom is not my strong point. How can I stop narrating the troubles of Indian shipping when it has to face new difficulties and new persecutions? As a punishment of all the trouble that I have been giving you in this connection, you always listen like a true Karma Yogi, with infinite patience to all the tragic tales of the sufferings and struggles which the Indian shipping industry has to undergo. You always advise me: "Walchand, do not yield to the domination of the foreign shipping interests. Stand firm and unshakable at any cost against its onslaughts. Face it courageously. Do not allow the flag of Indian shipping to be lowered. Keep that flag always high and strive to take it higher. Indian shipping is essential for India's prosperity, for India's defence and for India's self-respect. Redeem the Indian shipping industry and the Indian oceans which are mortgaged to the foreigners. Get them back. Make them free. And put forth your best to see that they remain free in the future." It is with these words of wisdom that you have instilled in me the courage befitting a great and brave commander of the country. You have shown me new avenues of action. You have taught me new ways of securing success in the fight and all this has given me the necessary strength to carry on the great

burdens of the incessant fight which I have to put forth for Indian shipping as lightly as my participating in a game. It is not possible for me to express adequately in words the new light that I have received; the new inspiration that I have obtained from your guidance and co-operation in my fight for the Indian shipping industry on the hallowed plains of India. Friends, India will know only when the history of the Indian shipping industry is written, the great and invaluable power which the co-operation and the inspiration which it has been its good fortune to obtain from Sardar Saheb in its onward march.

And Shriyut Bhulabhai, I have not hesitated in encroaching upon your time and even sparing you from worries in this connection. On many an occasion when you were busy both in Delhi as well as in Simla with the consideration of the several measures, big and small, which were coming up before the Legislature and when you were fully occupied in collecting the necessary data to fight against them in the interests of the country, I have taken up your time and have disturbed you in your pre-occupations and told you: "Bhulabhai, do this for Indian Shipping. Save Indian shipping from the attacks of the foreign shipping interest. See that the Government of India carry out their promises and assurances which they have given for the development of an Indian Merchant Navy. Help Indian Shipping in overcoming the serious difficulties which lie in its path to extend its activities in the overseas trade". I have worried you with such and many such requests in the cause of the Indian shipping industry both when you were in Delhi and when you were in Simla. If you want to save yourself from such worries from me, please try your best to secure for Indian shipping what India demands. We had a little right in the past for giving Legislative assistance and developing Indian industries and Indian shipping. That small right has now been taken away by the Commercial Safeguards so that the foreigners may find it easier to rob us of our all through foreign shipping and foreign industries. I want you Shriyut Bhulabhai to cremate these Commercial Safeguards in Delhi, and to consign their bones into the Holy waters of the Jumna. Otherwise

I am not prepared to assure you that I shall not trouble you in the future in this connection. And even if I were in a moment of weakness to give such an assurance, I am sure, Master, here, will not allow me to rest in peace till I approach you again in this matter. As soon as the session of the Assembly begins, Master comes and tells me: "Walchandbhai, let us see Bhulabhai. Such and such a measure or such and such a resolution affecting the shipping interests of India are likely to come up and how shall we be able to safeguard our interests without the help of Bhulabhai." On all such occasions you have explained to me where lie the true interests of Indian shipping and have told me "Walchandbhai, I shall not allow the rights of Indian shipping, the unprotected industry of India to suffer in any way. I shall do my utmost to secure them. Do not be disappointed. Have patience. Everything will be all right". With these words you have revived my enthusiasm and sent me back. Let me offer you my heartfelt thanks for all that you have done for me in this connection.

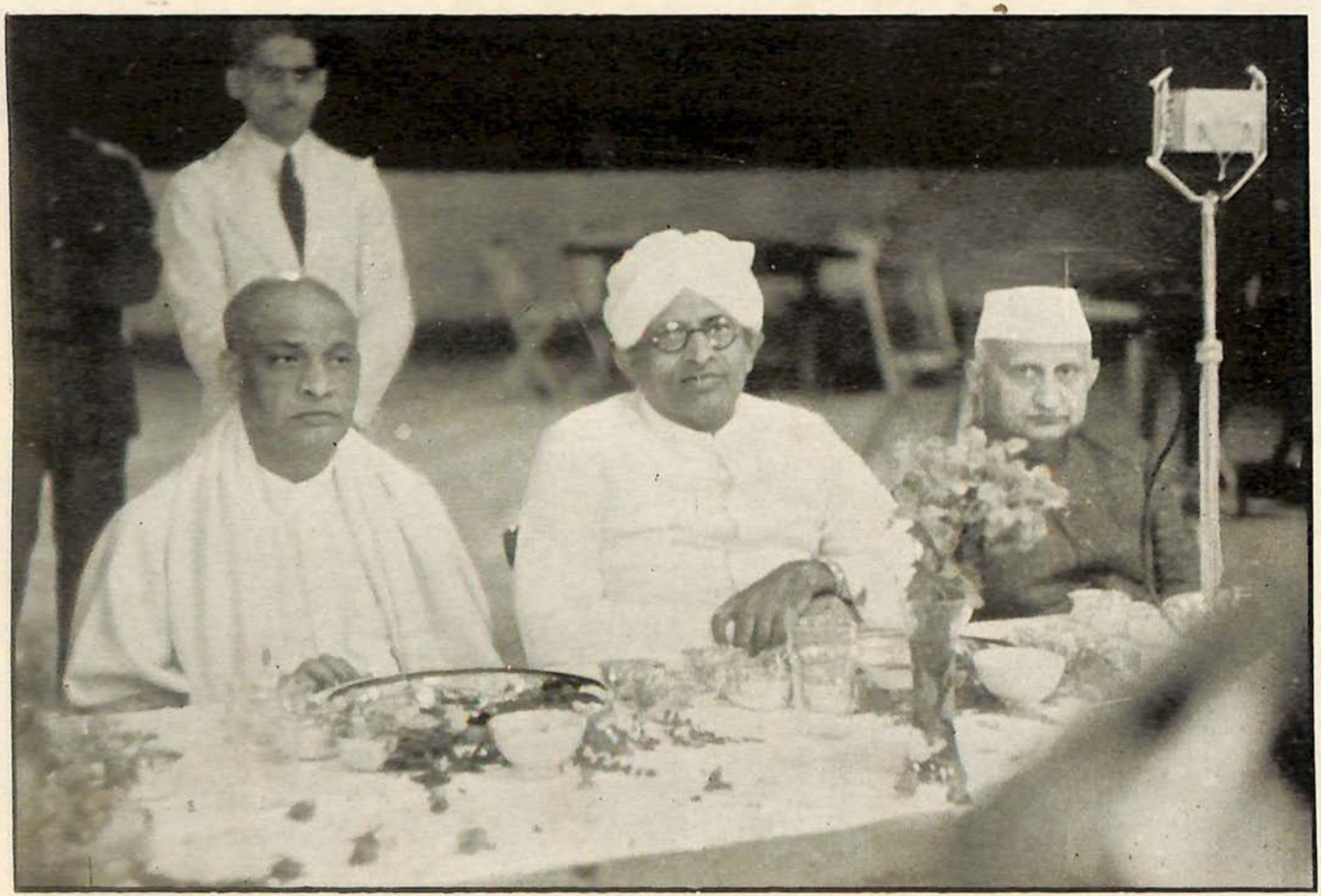
Even if the shipping industry secures the support of the national leaders and even if it receives the inspiration from the national opinion in the country, will it ever be possible for Indian shipping to make progress, my merchant friends, without your active and effective co-operation? If anyone deserves the first and the best thanks for the position which the Scindia Company has attained today it is you, our Patrons, and you alone. Your goodwill has kept alive all our future aspirations for the development of Indian shipping. Your living sympathy has given new life to our enthusiasm for our fight to secure for Indian shipping its legitimate rights. Your constant, continuous and active support and your effective and full co-operation from day to day has added to the prosperity of the Company and lengthened its life in its own home waters. It is entirely in your hands, my friends, to create conditions which can ensure the increase of the fleet of the Scindia Company, can make it possible for the carriage of India's maritime trades in Indian ships and can promote India's prosperity. If you want to realise what unparalleled

power and unceasing driving force lie in the solidarity of the merchants of a country supporting its national shipping alive, for defending it against foreign onslaughts and for enabling it to extend its fields of operation in its own home and overseas waters and if you want to see its living and powerful proof in any country, I will ask you to bear in mind the case of Japan. Indian merchants sell lacs of cotton bales to Japan year after year. Has it been possible for these Indian Merchants to ship these cotton bales to Japan in Indian steamers? The solidarity however of the Japanese merchants has secured for them such a power as has enabled them to send all their goods, whether it is imported or whether it is to be exported, in their own Japanese steamers, despite the fact that they purchase their goods C. I. F. and sell their goods F. O. B. This solidarity and strength of the Japanese merchants have tremendously helped the development of their own Japanese shipping. Well, this is the position with the Japanese merchants. It is a matter of great regret that the Indian merchants have not been able to develop a similar strength for carrying their goods in their own ships. Whether they buy the goods or Whether they sell the goods, the result has been that foreign shipping has made undue inroads at the cost of the Indian Shipping Industry in India's own maritime trades and has been continuing to increase its field of activities in those trades. Friends, I therefore long to see the day when you, I and the entire merchant community may get such a power, may develop such an outlook and may obtain such an ability to regulate our activities, that we can by our solidarity remain united and may be able for the prosperity of our own country to carry our own maritime trades in our own ships and thus keep the flag of Indian shipping flying in all the seven seas.

Friends, we have not yet realised the strength that lies within us and the capacity which it is possible for us to develop. Trade is in your hands. If you do not serve your goods, will the ships be filled? Who will fill the ships without you? You served your goods to the ships of the Scindia Company and the Scindia Company

has remained alive. The Scindia Company could march forward. The Scindia Company could extend its activities. And with the advent of the Scindia Company, if I were to use the words of Sriyut Munshi, 'values of things have changed'. Shippers began to be respected. Their position and their dignity began to be recognised. Twenty years back it was difficult for the shippers to have the pleasure of meeting even the head-broker of a foreign shipping company. And now today even the Barra Saheb like Sir George Campbell has to go to the town of the shippers and to see them in their own homes. You, my Friends and Patrons, have stood by the Company and no one has therefore been able to lower the flag of that Company. The Scindia Company began to serve you. This made the foreigners learn new lessons in the art of welcoming and in the method of treating their shippers. If the Indian shippers and those who manage the Indian shipping companies act together and develop harmonious relations, if they could meet each other's wants, if they could unite together and stand together united for securing for India its lost economic independence which has been taken away from her, I assure you that the foreigners with all the patronage and help which they receive both here and from their own country will not be able to continue their domination and to stop India from breaking its bonds of slavery and becoming prosperous and independent. It is in you that lies the strength and power to create such a position for your own country but that would call for some little sacrifice as well as some little suffering.

I am just reminded of an incident of such a sacrifice and such a suffering. Some years back when I was in Rangoon, I was told that a Chinese industrial magnate was to proceed to Singapore. A Passenger Line was being run by the distinguished Chinese Mr. Chin Tsong. That Industrial Chinese magnate booked his passage to Singapore by the s.s. "Sianbee". He, however, did not reach the Wharf in time. The steamer had already left. If he did not reach Singapore in time, he would have incurred a loss of lacs of rupees. The head of a foreign shipping company approached this Chinese



Sheth Walchand Hirachand with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Sjt. Bhulabhai Desai.

magnate and offered to place at his disposal a special boat of his own and tempted him to take him to Singapore free of cost. That Chinese gentleman was born with patriotism. He declined with thanks this offer of his foreign friend. He chartered a Chinese boat owned by the Chinese by paying an exorbitant passage fare and proceeded to Singapore. Some of his friends told him: "What foolishness! Why, instead of accepting the offer of the foreign shipping company and proceeding to Singapore, free of cost, you chartered a Chinese boat and paid thousands of rupees as your passage fare". That Chinese industrial magnate replied: "I am a Chinese. My country, China, has a first claim over me. A Chinese steamer belonging to a Chinaman is my own steamer. Instead of proceeding free of cost by a foreign steamer and making my country dependent upon such shipping, I would always prefer to proceed by my own steamer even if I were to spend thousands of rupees because all this money will remain in my country. Such money will help the development of my own Chinese Shipping. It would prevent the foreigners from attacking Chinese shipping and driving it out from its legitimate field. Foreigners will realise that neither will the Chinese serve their steamers with their goods nor will the Chinese passengers patronise their boats. Will then the foreigners bring their ships to our own homewaters merely for the pleasure of measuring their depths?" Whichever country shows such sagacious and farsighted patriotism, whether it is China, whether it is India or whether it is any other country, I assure you, gentlemen, no foreign interests will dare to stop the development of national shipping of that country.

Friends, somebody might say "Walchandbhai, it is very good to talk about patriotism. We are, however, merchants. What we are concerned with is how to purchase our goods in the cheapest market and how to sell them in the dearest market. If we ship our rice in Indian ships, it is not going to remain as bright and white as pearls. If we, however, will ship them in the foreign steamers it is not going to be spoiled. The Company which will quote the lowest rate, the Company which will give the quickest delivery and the

Company which will settle our claims fully and without any difficulty is the Company to which we should give our goods for shipment." To such a critic, I shall point out in all humility that it was only after the advent of the Scindia Company that the shippers could make a choice as to the steamer by which they could ship their goods. When no Indian shipping Company was in the field, the merchants had to pay such freight as the foreign shipping Company asked for. Merchants could ship only such a quantity of their rice for which they could secure a space. And as to the claims whether they were paid or whether they were not paid, they had to carry on their shipments without any protest and without any murmur. Thanks to the existence of Indian shipping today, the shippers have obtained the strength to fight for their rights and compel the shipping companies not only to recognise them but also to act in accordance with them. To the question as to which ship should be selected by merchants between an Indian ship and a foreign ship and to the question as to which ship the merchants should give their cargo has been decided once and for all by the support which you, the patrons of the Scindia Company have given for years past and the co-operation which you have actively and effectively extended to this Company, all these years. It is not for me to say what you should do. You have answered the question for yourself and the only thing that is left for me is to express my profound gratitude to you all for thus helping the cause of national shipping in this country.

Friends, I know that we have not been able to give equal satisfaction to you all. Mistakes may have been committed by us. Mistakes might be committed by us in the future. If we, however, commit any mistakes, we would appeal to you not to forget to tell us how to retrieve the position created thereby. If you do not get all the steamers to meet your requirements, shake up Haji at Rangoon and if you get them in too large a number worry Pandya in Bombay. If there are any problems regarding the rice trade in Burma consult Khan Bahadur Chandoo. If the cargo put alongside the boat is shut out, go and have a dig against Baxi. If all the claims that you have

forwarded are not settled in full have all your protests registered at Pandya's door. If the rate of freight which you want is not quoted, fail not to take Master to task. If, however, you feel that there is yet something wanting in the management, by all means represent your case before Sheth Shantikumar. If, however, you are not satisfied by all this and if you want to increase the rates of freight, by all means come and see me. We shall do all our best to serve your interests to the best of our ability. The Scindia is yours. It belongs to you. It will remain with you. Continue to show the same sympathy and goodwill to the Scindia Company in the future as in the past. Stabilise the position of Scindia with your prosperity. Make Scindia prosperous with your active co-operation. Give Scindia the strength to proceed on its onward march with your support and inspiration and continue to look upon the Scindia Company as your own in the future as you have done in the past. This is my request and this is my prayer to you, the patrons of the Scindia Company.

Friends, once again let me tender my sincere thanks to you for gracing tonight's function and honouring us on this occasion by your presence and let me express the wish that we all may join together in many such happy functions in the future.

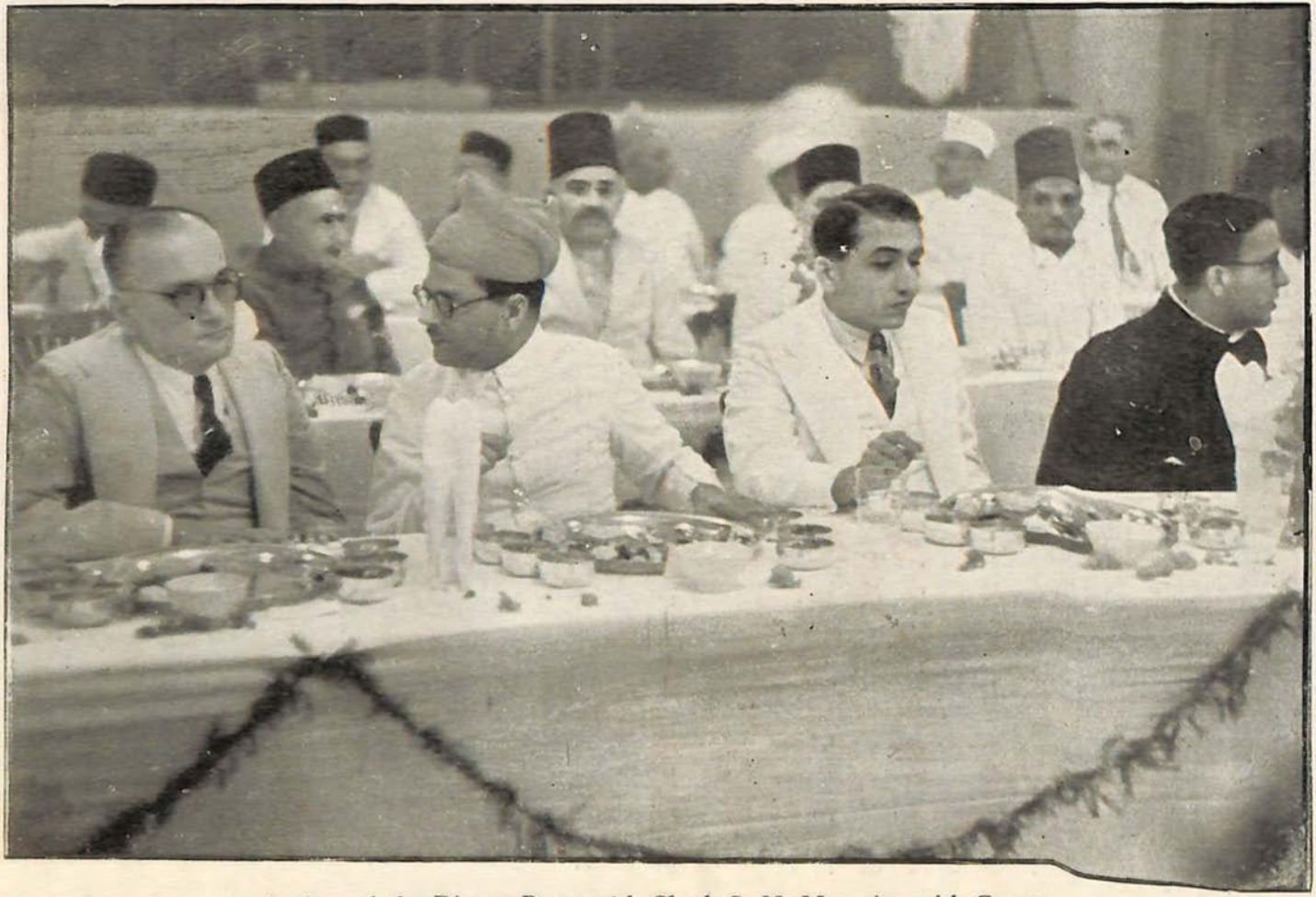
Sheth Devjibhai of Devji Tokersey & Co., in reply on behalf of the shippers made the following speech:—

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Sheth Walchandbhai,
Sheth Shantikumar and Friends,

I am standing before you now to thank the Scindia Company on behalf of the guests for this happy occasion that has brought us all together and for the lavish hospitality shown to us by our hosts.

I cannot help recalling today the early days of the Scindia Company which to my mind heralded the dawn of the regeneration of National Shipping in this country. I feel the presence amidst us today of that great soul, Sheth Narottam Morarjee, who laid the foundation of the Scindia Company about twenty years ago. With Sir Lallubhai Samaldas and Sheth Kilachand Devchand he laid the corner stone of what-was-to-be a magnificent edifice in two decades, I mean the Scindia Company. It is with a sense of satisfaction that we can mention today that we, the rice merchants, in particular and all Indian shippers with us began our association and active co-operation with the Scindia Company which we have maintained till date and which, we gentlemen, let me assure the Scindia Company, shall maintain in future, in increasing proportions. For we are proud of this our share in the building up of the Scindia Company.

The Company so founded by the late Seth Narottam received the fostering care from Seth Walchandbhai and Seth Shantikumar. The foundation laid then so well and truly laid has arisen under the efficient control of Seth Walchandbhai and Seth Shantikumar into this great concern, the Scindia Company, a concern unique in the national maritime history of our motherland. It was at some truly



A view of the Dinner Party with Sheth S. N. Morarjee with Guests.

auspicious moment that the Scindia Company selected a name, to be used as its telegraphic address, the name of JALANATH, the Lord of the Seas. It is our earnest prayer, gentlemen, that Scindia may soon be able to justify the glorious significance of this name and attain a powerful position in the waters of the seven seas.

With the birth of the Scindia Company was born the self-respect of the merchants. The Indian merchant learnt to stand erect in the splendour of this newly acquired sense of self-respect. He began to be respected by the Shipping Companies, because of the advent of the Scindia Company. The Carrier and the Shipper came closer together. Scindia has benefited the world of shippers in various other ways, which it is needless to recount here. Breathes there an Indian who would not wish well, from the bottom of his heart, to such a vital industry of the country like our National Shipping? Or to the Scindia Company which is the very life and soul of that National Industry? On your behalf, Gentlemen, I offer our felicitations to our hosts and wish them increasing prosperity and strength. On your behalf, Gentlemen, I assure the Scindia Company of our full co-operation in the future as we have given in the past.

Scindia Company has during these two decades been appointed the Managing Agents of various other navigation companies, including that of the Bombay Steam.

I congratulate the Scindia Company and its Management for this, for I have no doubt that such uniformity of Management is in the interests of the mercantile community itself.

I also congratulate the Scindia Company on their decision to enter into the Haj trade, for that entry has meant better comforts and greater facilities for our Muslim brothers. At the same time I cannot help observing that the mercantile community of this country has observed with great regret the gross injustice that has been done to the Scindia Company by the Government in the matter of allocations of quotas for this season which has compelled the Scindia Comapny

to suspend their Haj services this year in the interest of the prestige of National Shipping. I appeal to the Government to redress this wrong without delay. In fact I am voicing the feeling of you all, gentlemen, when I say that we the merchants of India are awaiting the day when the Scindia flag will be regularly seen in the far away waters, on the coasts of Africa and the Far East, nay, in the Seven Seas of the world, and that the Indians will have the privilege of visiting and trading with the different ports of the world under the National Flag.

Gentlemen, you all know how the Scindia Management readily responded to our request for assisting the famine stricken people of Cutch and Kathiawar and carried food and materials without freight. I deeply thank the management of the Scindia Company for this great assistance not only as a merchant but as a citizen of those parts of India.

We hear, gentlemen, that the Scindia Company is fast maturing the scheme of establishing a ship-building yard in India. I wish that undertaking every success. I have no doubt that the mercantile community of this country will give their fullest possible support to that scheme.

Now, Mr. Walchand, I have to make a complaint to you on behalf of the rice shippers who, as you have rightly said, are your best friends and supporters. If I were not to ventilate this grievance before you and your Directors I would be failing in my duty to my own trade. We have always supported the Scindia Company and I want you to assist us, and give to our complaint your sympathetic consideration. Our trade yields a return of hardly two and a half to five per cent. During the great part of the year this trade suffers adversely to the great hardships to the merchants. I am referring to the dumping of freight on the market. Perhaps it is news to you and your Directors that we have on record no less than 35 arrivals in the harbour during 30 days of a month. I need not say the effect on the market of this dumping of the freight is often very inconvenient

if not disastrous. I want you and your Directors to help us in removing this grievance of ours.

Owing to discussions with the different conference liners during the last two or three years the justice of our contention has been accepted in principle. The Scindia Company has been sympatheitc towards our case throughout. Various schemes, however, of rationalisation have been formed and drawn. I do not want to say more than this, I do not want to blame this party or that but I hope that you will take this matter in hand and solve the difficulties that are in the way of removing this grievance of ours.

Gentlemen, in conclusion I once again thank the Management of the Scindia Company for arranging this occasion which has brought all of us together and for this lavish hospitality.

Sardar Vallabhbhai addressed the following words in reply:—

Seth Walchandbhai, Seth Devjibhai, the Directors of the Scindia Company and Gentlemen,

We are meeting today for the first time in this building, the "Scindia House". It is natural that we should feel happy on this occasion just as a poor man who builds a hut for himself feels happy when he performs the 'Vastu' ceremony—the House Warming—in that hut. To my mind, the "Scindia House" is no better than a poor man's hut. Scindia has built this 'hut' in the midst of the wilderness—that is, the Indian coasts and the Indian ocean. That this hut some day may be replaced by a magnificent palace is a dream which will come true only if we shall act like the true sons of the Mother-land.

The world is passing through a series of cataclysms. These are the times when those that *have* now will *have not* presently and those *will have* then who *have not now*. The proud possessors of to-day, may find themselves dispossessed tomorrow. These are the signs of the times. Only a few nights ago, the President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber had said that this is the right moment for expanding and developing the industries of the country. He was referring to the situation created by the War. He, however, had not taken into account the fact that the Government is very wide awake indeed. We have only today received the news of the 50 percent Excess Profits Tax! The Congress Administration had levied only 10 per cent. There was a hue and cry then. Are there going to be processions now? We are indeed a nation of cripples. Swaraj, however, is rapidly advancing towards us with the speed of a race horse. We can feel it coming throbbing accross the waters. It will not need a boat to bring her across to this country. Swaraj is at hand, but you,

businessmen of India will have to realise your responsibilities and your duties, as this juncture demands.

Walchandbhai has referred to the various occasions when he says he has worried me—on the promenade at Worli, at Delhi and so on. This is mere courteous talk. I am not susceptible to such flattery. I do not need it. I am not a rice merchant, and do not need such flattering incentives. (Laughter). A businessman offers presents. We are not accustomed to offer anything or receive anything in return. To serve the country is our business. We are only rendering service to the country and add our efforts in the behalf of national shipping is a part of that service.

Our ships, Gentlemen, used to visit distant shores, laiden with jewels and gold. Those then that sat outside our doors in all humility now refuse to us a seat even in that humble place, and they are occupying our very homes. Looking far and round, one can see only this Scindia Company in significant venture that it is, one and single, an exception that points to the rule. There is no need to offer praise to us if we arraign ourselves at her side. It is, however, obvious to me that the merchants require considerable flattery for the support that they can give. Even the Puris served here have different colours on them. Why should even merchants, I ask, be flattered? Scindia no doubt wants their support. That support should be available without flattery.

Various industries of India like Textiles, Iron, Cement, Sugar are finding opportunities to develop in this country. The trade however follows the flag and our flag is no-where. Without the flag there can be no trade. We do not desire to dominate other peoples' homes. We do not want to rule the waves like Britannia. Such aggression and pride only find a reaction in Hitlerism. While we do not covet the homes of others, we certainly want to rule in our own homes.

There is no dearth of people who talk loosely about the Scindia Company and call her a Bombay concern, a Monopoly. Who else

but the Scindia Company, I ask, has the strength to build up such an industry under such conditions—the conditions of slavery? Talk about Government help? Where is the Government to help? Whom does the Government help? The whole story of the subsidies and assistance given to the P. & O. is yet to be fully known. There is, however, no end to the attempts made to cripple the Scindia Company. We all know that. I am frankly in love with the Scindia Company, because it has demonstrated most successfully that such progress can be made under such conditions of slavery. Narottambhai, who gave birth to the Scindia Company, is no more with us, but he has left a precious trust unto us. Those to whom that trust has been given, the present men who manage the Scindia are fine men, are capable men, are brave men. We, the trustees, of this great enterprise, are certainly not unfit to carry the flag forward. We are here to see that the Scindia advances. We will see to that because we realise that it is our Dharma to do so. We are however, handicapped by a vision that has been dwarfed because of the centuries of enslavement.

When an Englishman, accompanied by his wife and child, boards the steamer bound for India, he stands on the deck of the ship with his family and sees before him the land that is 5,000 miles away. Even the little child is aware of the fact that he is an heir to the Empire, and that he is going as a Ruler to India! This is inculcated into his mind with his upbringing. He thinks in the terms of "my England, my Ship, my Shipping and my Empire", and he knows that he is to govern all this.

In India people think in the terms of petty distinctions and differences. An Indian knows himself as a member of a caste, which again is a sub-division of another caste which again is geographically separated from the same caste of this town or that. Our vision is dwarfed. We are afraid of even stepping into the water lest the White Saheb may be offended. Our forefathers were great navigators. That is however a story of the past. We have sufficient strength in us yet to revive that glory. We can revive it, if our

Sheth Tulsidas Kilachand with Sjt. K. M. Munshi and Sheth M. C. Matani.

vision is broadened, our short-sightedness abandoned. Scindia may have deficiencies but these are the deficiencies of a child of the soil, natural to a child's age. A child, because it is a child, has a natural right to be petulent. It might even dirty our clothes. But we have to notice only the best in our children. Merchants, no doubt, look for cheapness. It was Scindia that cheapened for merchants what was abnormally out of our reach before. Merchants should never forget this fact. If Scindia were removed from the picture, the merchants should realise that it will cost them dearly in the end. This aspect deserves your consideration at all times. Scindia Company has therefore earned and deserved our utmost admiration and no sacrifice is too great if it is made for her. We are proud of this Company, and even its staff is such as to make us feel proud of them.

Let us pool our resources and our strength then and let us fight those forces which are inimical to this our enterprise. History teaches us that the enemy can dispossess us only if we fall out amongst ourselves for petty reasons. It is tragic, this quarelling between brothers. It is tragic because we have been bereft even of petty trifles worth fighting for. Can there be quarels between slaves? How absurd it would be if a slave falls out with another because he has been given fetters of silver whereas the other has been fettered with gold. Slaves at least must unite. Let us first obtain our freedom, let us first be masters in our own homes, and then if you are still desirous of picking faults with the Scindia Company, you can count upon my hearty co-operation with you. (Laughter). We shall then be quite justified in remonstrating with the Scindia. To-day we are all slaves, one and all of us. Let us therefore form a united front against our common enemy, the foreigner. Therein lies the izzat of our country.

Our coasts are bereft of our flag. How can that flag then fly aloft in the world? It would have been a different story altogether if we had our own national shipping. We have yet to see the dawning of the day when we have that. We in our impotency, have no reason to sulk nor to delight. The mother that is blessed with a

bevy of children naturally is exultant in a happiness which is denied to the woman who is cursed with sterility. We have only this Scindia Company to call our own. Let us then be all united in fostering this our solitary trust. Therein lies our self-respect, our izzat and our claim to be regarded as human beings. You cannot expect a foreign Government to give these to you.

I have seen Walchandbhai going about from pillar to post in Delhi. Well, even Delhi has our own countrymen occupying the seats of the mighty. I have however to say to him now, that the time has ended or is shortly to end, when knocking about like this may not be any more necessary. This is our country. It is soon going to be only ours. The Swaraj is approaching and it is approaching fast. Britain is losing greater tonnage in a week than the tonnage of the whole of Scindia put together. The wheel of time is ever revolving. The great father Time is inexorable and keeps bringing changes in human destinies. It is so ordained by a just God. The darkness of despondency is over. The dawn of a new day is reddening in the East. Let us then all of us realise what is our Dharma. Let not Scindia have to flatter you with such Dinners and let not Scindia have any doubts about your support. Of course a Dinner will certainly be due when the Ship-yard is opened (laughter) but it does not behove us that we should insist on a dinner to induce us to ship rice by Scindia steamers. (Laughter). Scindia has no easy task before her. Despite Delhi and Simla there are yet those who fattened on the fat of the land, are bent upon throwing obstacles in the path of the Scindia. They are so incorrigible that even when the End will overtake them, they will die with a curse on their lips. We live and die for our civilisation and for our culture. Nations worthy of their name sacrifice their all for their culture. If we can but succeed in keeping our culture alive, that success cannot be underrated. That success however is possible only if every one discharges his proper Dharma. Such gatherings can teach us only one duty, the duty of sacrifice—the sacrifice of our personal interest—for behind that sacrifice lie great advantages.

Another view of the Gathering.

Sjt. Bhulabhai Desai speaking in reply observed as under:—

Sjt. Walchandbhai and Friends,

I really do not see why I should be asked to speak this evening, but as I am asked to speak I do not insist on further persuasion like a lawyer. That I should have to listen to Walchandbhai every time he comes to Delhi is a matter which really is beyond my personal control or inclinations, as I am at Delhi as a Member of the Assembly elected by the Constituency, whose service is, as it should be, my natural concern. In fact if I grudge this service, it would only mean that I am not conscious of my duty. I do not say this as a matter of courtesy but because I realise my Dharma.

Walchandbhai has asked me to consign the charred bones of the Commercial Safeguards into the holy waters of the Jamna. Being a Hindu, I believe in reincarnation so to the prevent these safeguards being reborn in this our country I propose to consign them in the waters of the Thames.

The Government of India Act of 1935 is dead for good already. It ceased to exist the day the Congress Ministries gave up office. With it also died the Commercial Safeguards. The evil has thus brought forth good. Now we will have nothing short of Coastal Reservation.

The foreigner shall have to be made to expiate in that manner for the sin of imposing Commercial Safeguards.

We may have made many a mistake so far, the greatest being our lack of unity. If we had been united, the question of such an Act as the Act of 1935 would hardly have arisen.

I often however note the progress during the last ten years, and realise its rapid development. We use to flatter ourselves as merchants when we were just the selling agents of foreign manufatures or foreign insurance. There was a time when the importers of foreign piecegoods used to protest to us against the Swadeshi movement. I am one of those that believe that the significance and importance of Swadeshi is fully realised by us today.

If you have complaints against Walchandbhai, you can ventilate them certainly, but if you will weaken the cooperation to National Shipping or if you fail to consolidate its position, it is going to be a very great disadvantage to yourselves. The foreign competitor who lures you by a couple of annas more today, is the foreigner who has collected his billions from you during the last century and a half. If Walchandbhai were not there, he would recover those two annas with manifold compound interest. You cannot afford to overlook this important fact.

I hope and trust that while you calculate your present gains, you will also count the ultimate good, of yourself and of the country.

I went to Europe in the "Loyalty." We had great hopes then about the future of Indian Shipping. But before this Industry could find a secure footing it had to meet with great opposition and pass through great difficulties. The Britisher has realised that the development of Indian industries is not in his interest.

The proposed Excess Profits Duty is certainly not to raise more money, that is collecting money is not its primary object. Its object is to arrest the development of Indian industries. Actually the expenditure of the Government of India has decreased. According to the arrangements arrived at with Britain, it bears the cost of Indian troops employed outside India. The motive underlying the Excess Profits Duty lies much deeper than the obvious surface. It was during and after the last war that Indian Textiles,

which was worth about Twenty to Twentytwo crores, doubled itself. India then developed industries worth over a hundred crore of rupees. This tax is to prevent such development of Indian Industries during this war.

I am one of those that believe that it is our duty, our act of national service that we should assist National Industries like Shipping. If Walchandbhai worries me here or in Delhi for that Industry, no apologies are due to me for that. On the contrary apologies are due from us, as we often fail to give satisfaction to all that come to us.

I hope and trust that Scindia will have many such occasions for such gatherings and dinners (laughter). I congratulate the management of the Scindia company on their efficiency, their ability and their high sense of duty towards the country.

MAR 30 1940

VII

SPEECHES DELIVERED AT THE DINNER

Given by

Mr. PRANLAL DEVKARAN NANJEE

in honour of

Mr. WALCHAND HIRACHAND

at the Willingdon Sports Club

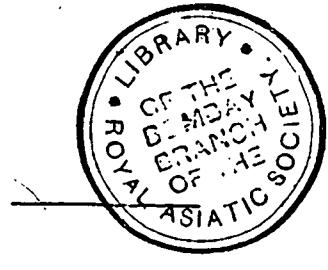
on Thursday, the 11th January, 1940

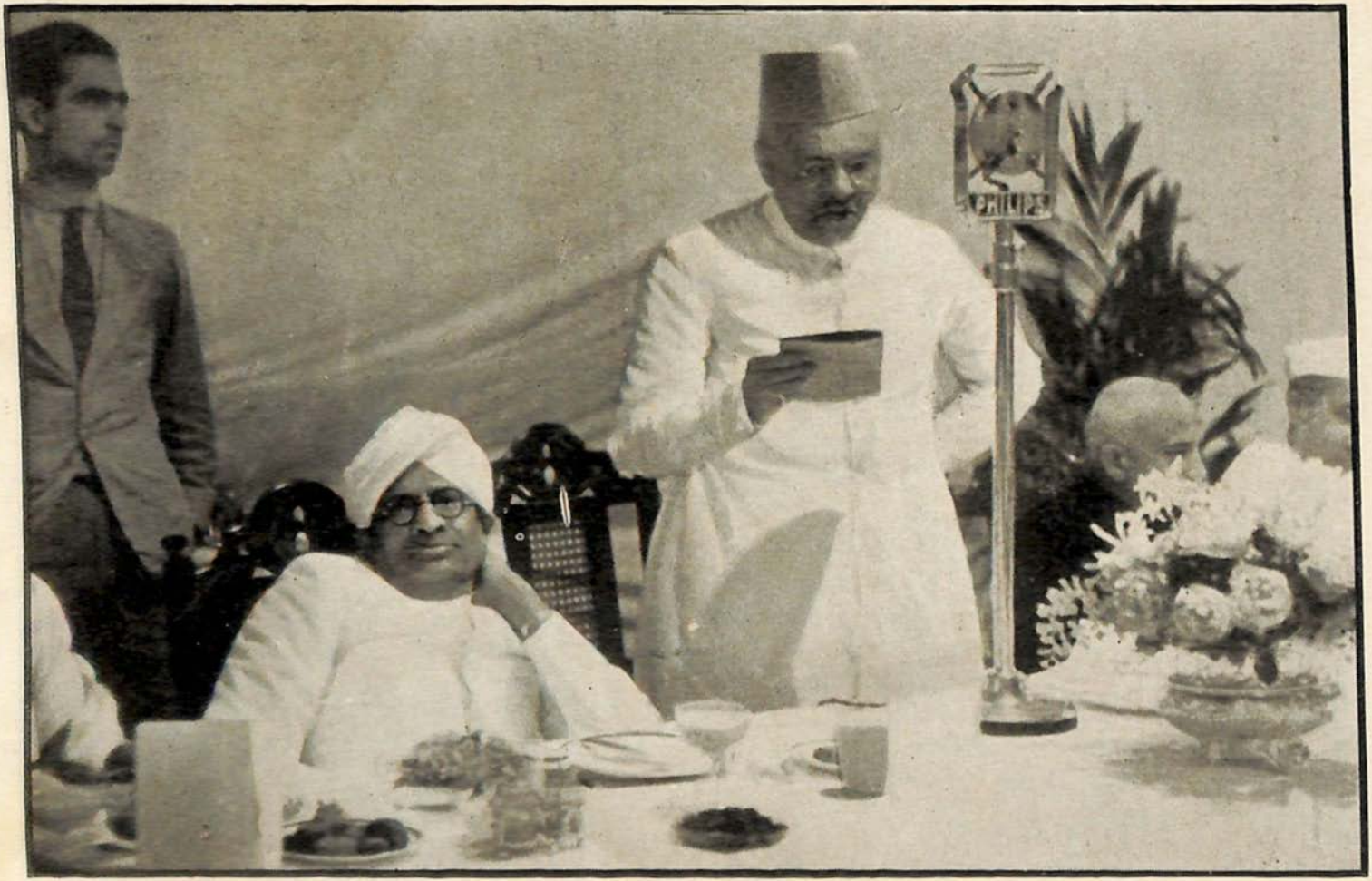
for the purpose of congratulating him on the great services rendered by him to the cause of National Shipping.

Pht VII

INDEX.

	Page.
SETH PRANLAL DEVKARAN NANJEE'S SPEECH	1
SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL'S SPEECH	8
SETH WALCHAND HIRACHAND'S REPLY	12
Mr. B. N. KARANJIA'S SPEECH	18
LIST OF GUESTS PRESENT AT THE DINNER	20





SHETH PRANLAL DEVKARAN NANJEE SPEAKING.

Rare
3[illegible] 0954
Num/Spe

Seth Pranlal Devkaran Nanjee, in Congratulating Seth Walchand Hirachand made the followings Speech :—

Friends,

We have all met here to day to congratulate Mr. Walchand Hirachand for his great services to the cause of National Shipping. Mr. Walchand Hirachand has in fact breathed a new life into National Shipping. I thank you all for having responded to my invitation on this occasion and specially I thank you, Sardar Saheb, for having specially undertaken a journey from Bardoli to grace this occasion with your presence and thus evince your sympathy towards the purpose of this gathering.

I cannot help recalling today the connection that my late father Seth Devakaran Nanjee had with Shipping. It began as early as the year 1879 and for a long time he played a great part in that Industry. I myself had the good fortune of coming into touch with this business during the years that I worked in the firm of Chhugondas and Company, the firm of my father. We used to charter no less than 60 to 70 steamers every year, which steamers carried about 5 to 6 hundred thousand tons of cargo from Bombay to Europe. This business of the firm, however, had to be closed down about the year 1916 when under the exigencies of the last Great War most of our chartered steamers were requisitioned by the Government. The closing of this business by our firm removed a great obstacle from the path of foreign Liners. It is but natural then, that I should have a special interest in shipping industry on account of these our old connections with it.

I also can claim some experience of the obstacles and difficulties that one has to face when opposed by the foreign shipping

interests. These interests are immense in their strength and material resources and receive the support of their Government. I can therefore very well imagine the great difficulties and hardships that Mr. Walchand has to face in his task of developing Indian Shipping against the opposition of powerful foreign vested interests. I am not going to describe in detail the various pitched battles in which Mr. Walchand had to and has to engage his forces against these interests and their powerful friends, who create formidable obstacles in his way. I will only rest content by saying that these have been such as to compel my admiration for his redoubted campaigneering and that is the reason why I am standing before you today.

There was a time when the flag of Indian Shipping had its place of pride in the seven seas. There came also a time when the Indian Shipping was sent to the bottom of the Sea. There was also a time when the foreign shipping which is robbing away the wealth of the country, was described by our own Government as "Indian Shipping" and was placed before the people as an instrument of India's Economic prosperity. This illusion fortunately has been dispelled today.

The true nature of Indian Shipping has now been made crystal clear and the credit for achieving this goes to Mr. Walchand. Everyone knows today that Indian Shipping means shipping owned, controlled and managed by Indians themselves. Only if true Swadeshi Shipping prospers, the exploitation of Indian resources will cease, the trade of India will expand, Indian manufactures will be welcomed in foreign markets, Indian Coast line will be defended. The political independence of India will remain unfulfilled without such Swadeshi shipping.

Mr. Walchand has not only explained the nature of such Swadeshi shipping to the country but he is sacrificing his all to develop that shipping.

The spirit of Swadeshi was awakened in this country in the beginning of this century. Swadeshi first was applied to piecegoods only and then to other articles. Several industries received encou-

ragement by this new spirit. Some industries like Iron, Sugar, Cement, etc. have received some slight protection from the Government, but Indian Shipping Industry had to and has to stake its all on the spirit of Swadeshi only. It was Mr. Walchand who invested Indian Shipping with the glamour of a great National Industry, and a truly Swadeshi industry. He not only created and inspired this feeling but he made it a matter of conviction with the nation.

Actuated with these principles Mr. Walchand measures the development of Indian shipping in terms of national prosperity. He is ever watchful to see that these principles never suffer in practice.

Thus it was that he helped the Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Company at the moment when its fate was being signed away into the hands of the foreigners in its hour of dire distress. Mr. Walchand's action enabled the Bengal-Burma to continue its life afresh as that of a Swadeshi company.

Moved by a similar solicitude for Indian Shipping, Mr. Walchand not only gave a new life to the Mazi Agboat Company but assured its future existence at a critical moment when its steamers were laid under distress and its existence was not worth the purchase of even a day. When the non-national companies decided to declare a rate-war against the smaller Indian steamship companies plying their trade on the West Coast of India, he not only refused to co-operate with them but he sacrificed freight worth lakhs of rupees in order to save those Indian Companies, making that sacrifice with pleasure and pride.

If the question of Indian Shipping has been made a live question today, the credit goes primarily to Mr. Walchand.

If we know today how the National Governments of different countries like England, Japan, America, etc. treat their national shipping as a national asset, and if we know those facts in a convincing manner, that knowledge was in the first instance given to us by Mr. Walchand.

It was Mr. Walchand who made India understand most clearly and fully the ways and means adopted by National Governments to maintain and develop their national shipping as an instrument of their national prosperity. If there is one man in India today who willingly is suffering great hardships in order that the Indian Government should have a change of heart towards Indian Shipping, it is Mr. Walchand. It is he who has been knocking incessantly at the portals of the Government to effect an entry therein for Indian shipping and it is only he who is constantly dinning into the ears of the Government the fact that the nation demands that they should take all measures possible for the development of this industry.

Mr. Walchand practically lives between Delhi, Simla, London and Calcutta, so that he may achieve his object. Mr. Walchand does not spare himself in order to convince the Government that the claims of Indian shipping deserve to be recognized. In short Mr. Walchand is turning heaven and earth to secure a proper place for Indian shipping in its own home waters. The efforts of Mr. Walchand in the interest of Indian Shipping are as immense as is his spirit in fighting for its cause. The cause of Indian shipping is the one great aim in Mr. Walchand's life, its success is the one great object of all his actions.

This Mr. Walchand is not the Mr. Walchand whom a casual visitor might chance to see if he calls at the Construction House. Mr. Walchand does not receive his visitors with any great courtesy and does not waste a moment in interchange of sweet words. Without considering in the least the feelings of his listener, he does not hesitate to express his own opinions and view-points in an unvarnished, almost brutally frank manner. Sometimes he hardly condescends to remove his eyes from the ceiling while he is addressing his visitor. If he can finish his work by a single "yes" or 'no' he does not bother about using any additional words. If the visitor can be disposed off on the telephone, the personal interview becomes out of question. This is because of Mr. Walchand's quickness of action which outspeeds motor cars and aeroplanes and

the velocity of his mind which is greater than that of telegraphs or wireless. Why is it then that we love that often embittering Mr. Walchand? What is the attraction in him?

It is the spirit of adventure in opening out new ways of trade and commerce, it is his unique vision of developing trade and commerce in a true Swadeshi manner and in the interests of and for the prosperity of the country. It is his unshakable faith that the future prosperity of India can be secured only with truly Swadeshi trade and commerce without counting the cost. It is his unparalleled method of achieving success for these ventures. In my opinion all these can be summed up in one word. Mr. Walchand has the Creative Genius.

Mr. Walchand has created several splendid buildings, he has constructed fine great bridges, he has tunnelled through the hearts of mountains. He has built up railways. Under his efficient hand, military camps have arisen out of wastes, he has achieved new creation even in agriculture and at present he is considering the creation of factories for the manufacture of Swadeshi motor cars and Swadeshi aeroplanes and of a Shipbuilding yard. But the creation for which the name of Mr. Walchand will find a place in the history of the country is indeed his creation of the true spirit of National Shipping.

Mr. Walchand is very keen to see super-Indian 'Victorias' and super-Indian 'Strathnavers', carrying the trade of India in the seven seas under the National Flag of India. I am fully convinced that God willing, Mr. Walchand will achieve this object by his unique tenacity, perseverance and courage.

As you all know the terms 'Scindia' and 'Walchand' are inseparable. I therefore cannot congratulate Mr. Walchand with better words than those which were so beautifully chosen by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel when he declared the "Scindia House" open. In conclusion therefore I venture to borrow the very significant expressions of the Sardar Saheb with profuse apologies to him:

"This magnificent edifice which you see before you is the symbol of national enterprise of the last 20 years; on each and every brick and stone of that building will be written the future history of Indian Shipping. It is a beautiful image of patriotism.....there must hardly be any one in this country who is not proud of the history of the Scindia Company.....How untrue the Ramayana would read to us if anyone omits all that Shri Rama did and achieved. Shri Walchandbhai's contribution to the progress and development of this Company during the last 20 years is what the contributions of Ramchandra were to the story of Ramayana. His great capacity, courage and patriotism and ceaseless endeavour for the good of the Company deserve the highest praise. It is indeed a great good fortune of the Scindia Company that it has got such a patriotic man at the helm of affairs.

"The place of Scindia in the National economy of the country is very high indeed.

"Whenever an Indian places his foot on board a ship and looks at the flag flying above him he cannot help feeling humiliated and cannot but bend down his head in shame at not seeing the flag of India at the mast. We have now to see the flag of India flying in the seven seas. If Scindia had the same assistance and support as the foreigners have in safeguards and Imperial protection Scindia's flag would be found in every part of the world. India is unfotunate; .....but I say to the Scindia Company and Mr. Walchand that there is no cause for despair. The whole country is at your back.

"The definition of Swadeshi by the Congress has been written in golden letters by Mahatmaji and it is going to stand. India does not desire to control the coasts of any other country but it certainly claims to control its own coasts.

"I have come here to give a message of sincere co-operation to the Scindia Company and its Directors. Scindia has given protection to smaller Indian Companies. Where could the Dufferin Cadets have found a place if there were no Scindia Steamers!

"Our business today in shipping has been derogated to the work of catching fishes. A nation whose coast is controlled by foreigners is a nation hard to find except in India. Is there a parallel with India where a foreigner not only controls the coast but is aggressive in his exploitation?

"Scindia has a special reason to be proud of the fact that its chief men are so able that no responsibility is too great for their shoulders. They are the ornaments of the Company.

"In expressing my heartfelt congratulations I give my blessings to the Scindia Company, that the glory and prestige of National Shipping shall fill the world through her. The flag of Indian National Mercantile Marine will fly in every port of the seven seas, and will attain a position which will enable India to live proudly amongst great nations as equal amongst equals."

Mr. Walchandbhai, the above words of Sardar Vallabhbhai for the Scindia Company, I now apply to you and offer my felicitations and sincere congratulations to you for the great services that you have rendered to the cause of National Shipping. (Cheers).

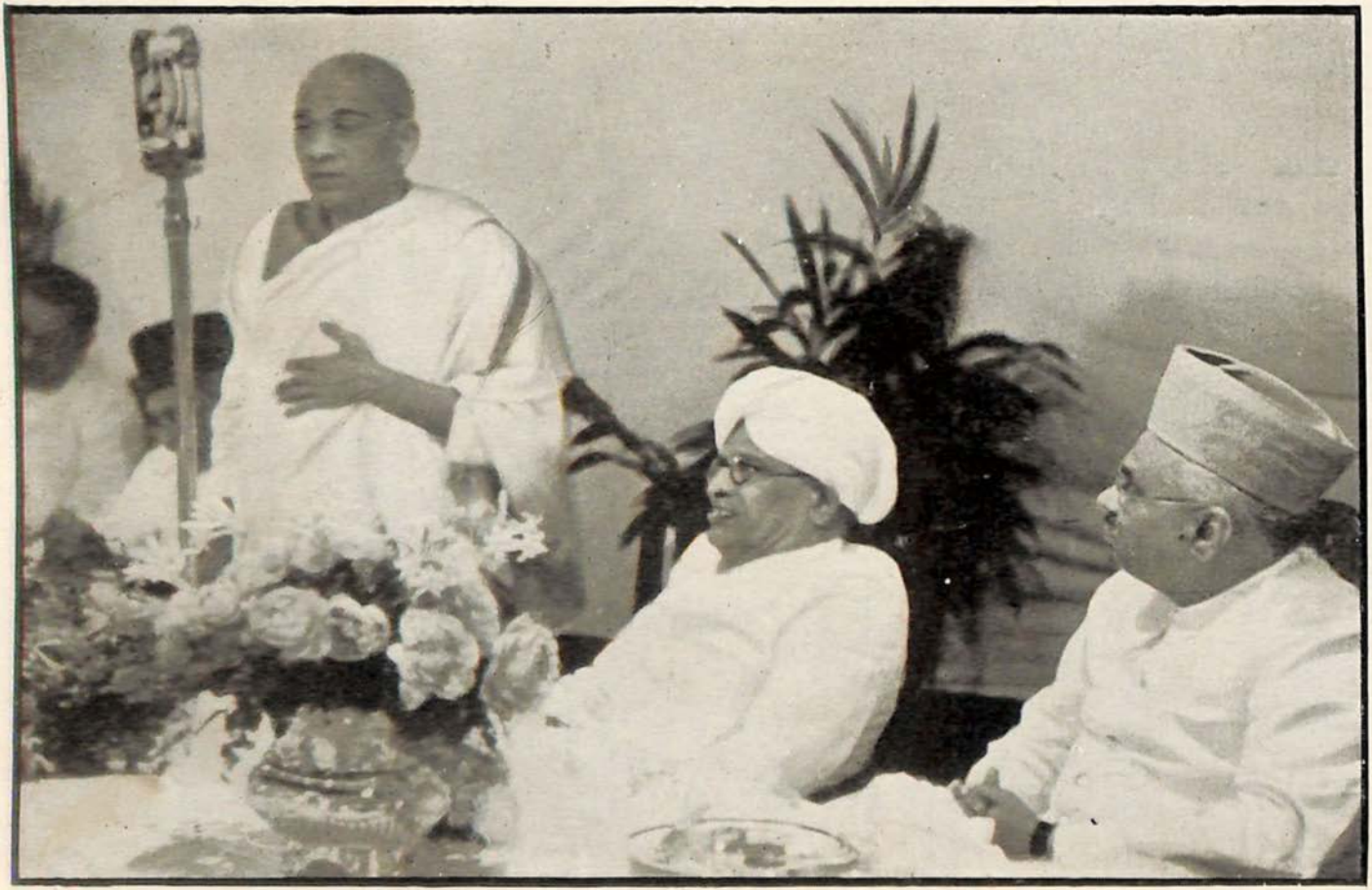
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel made the following observations on the occasion :—

Mr. Pranlal and Friends,

If anyone has a right to speak before you today it is our host, Pranlalbhai, because he has called us all together here to join him in congratulating Mr. Walchand, for his great services to National Shipping. If there is any other who has a right to speak, it is Mr. Walchand. No one else need speak today. Mr. Pranlal, however, who has organised this function in such a grand manner and on such a lavish scale, has asked me to speak a few words and I feel that I cannot decline his wishes on this matter—not at least after this sumptuous repast at his table. (laughter)

My innermost feelings with regard to National Shipping have already been referred to by Mr. Pranlal in his speech. All those countries in the world which are independent hanker after even a small strip on the coast-line. They often find out pretexts like a Corridor or some such other excuse to secure for themselves an independent port, even if it might give them a very small bit of land on the shores of the sea. What is behind this? What make these countries to sacrifice millions and sometimes even thousands of men to secure an independent bit of coast-land? There is only one thing behind it. It is this. In modern world no country can carry on its existence, or its trade, as an independent country, if it is without any independent port belonging to itself.

Our country is surrounded on three sides by the waters of the ocean. Its fourth boundary is made up of mountains. How then can we tolerate the humiliating condition of not being able to claim even a little corner, a little strip of land on the coast, which we can call our



SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL SPEAKING.

own, despite the fact that ours is a country surrounded on all but one side by the seas?

They call this, our waters, the INDIAN OCEAN. It is not however Indian, because it does not belong to India. The fact is, that like our land, our seas also have been mortgaged to the foreigners. Nothing out of these vast lands and these mighty waters belongs to us. If you want to be acquainted with the great history of the struggle to gain back these seas for ourselves, you have only to glance over the history of the Scindia Company. The Scindias have a great glorious fight to their credit, the fight to regain the control of the sea for the Indian Nation. If India were a free nation the Managing Director of the Scindia Company would have put Lord Inchcape in his small pocket long before this! That is our strength; we have sufficient courage for this, but we have lost our independence. Only those that have heard about the achievements of the Scindia Company can realize the tremendous odds against the Indian Shipping, even when it has to secure a trifling advantage for the country. In fact the moment India desires to have a little freedom the Britishers are out to demand mighty safeguards. If Scindia wants a little advantage for itself, the British Companies clamour for safeguards. If the tiger wants safeguards against the lamb, or if the giant wants safeguards against the dwarf, it would not be more absurd.

We read in papers that almost every day a few British ships are sent to the bottom of the sea and yet Britain is strong enough not to care. Britain is proud because Britain is the mistress of the sea. Britannia rules the waves. The very waters of the oceans are controlled by Britain. Our history however has been proclaiming since the days of the King Ravana of Lanka that Pride always goeth before the Fall.

India has no weapons of war and India has no intentions of fighting anyone. We only want our own back. We have lost our shipping and we want that shipping back for ourselves. Our

present struggle is as futile as trying to gather winds or like trying to hold smoke in our fists. The real thing is not with us. It has long been taken away from us. We can never get that real thing until we all speak with one voice. We want control of our own trades, but the trade always follows the Flag. Go where-so-ever you like in the world but you will not see the flag of India there. How then can you expect to see Indian trade in the world?

It is only Scindia today that is struggling for the establishment of the National Flag. I have already congratulated Mr. Walchand when I was asked to declare the Scindia House open. You are all here to congratulate him today. We shall once again congratulate him when he lays the foundation of the ship-building yard. The real congratulations however will be due to him on the day when the Scindia Flag shall be freely flying in the ports of the seven seas. I tell you, it is not a difficult achievement though it might appear to be so.

The world today is reeling on the waves of trouble. No one can say when it will be driven to the fathomless bottom. The world is today hanging over the precipice of the mountain; who can say when it will topple over and be shattered to pieces at the rocky bottoms of the valley?

No one can predict with certainty the result of this war. India today is challenging the pride of England. God has always shown the proud their proper place. Every individual in India believes in Universal Brotherhood. The Indian does not want to aggrandise, but he must defend his own home. If we Indians cannot even defend our own trade and commerce and our own national shipping we are not fit to live in this land.

This has been a week of functions. Speeches also have been delivered in plenty. Some speeches are entirely about the virtues of remaining silent. We do not go and deliver speeches in other people's countries. We do not speak, but certainly we cannot forget. If we were to forget, our proper place will be the bottom of the sea.

We would be fit for nothing else but suicide. We cannot any more keep looking on in silence to what is happening around us in the world. How can India forget those vital wounds, which have been draining her to death? India is determined to find its legitimate place in the oceans of the world and India is prepared to fight for that place. Scindia is still struggling to grow. Let her develop, let her expand. Our support is her real safeguard. Let all those who clamour for safeguard realise once for all that there are no safeguards for those who have not deserved their safeguards from the Nation.

You that are all here, the citizens and the merchant princes of Bombay, you are the cream of this city, and you are all here to congratulate Mr. Walchand and to show your admiration for the Chairman of the Scindia Company. What does this occasion mean? It means that you have all realised the urgent necessity of a truly independent National Shipping in this country. It is needless therefore to say that those who would read the signs of the times cannot have a better time than this to make themselves scarce from the coasts of India. It is really to their advantage to do so now. It is for their good that they should make our way clear in this regard and at this time. Otherwise we have no doubt what-so-ever, that we will have the ways and means to take back from them what is our own. To me therefore this occasion and this great representative gathering appear to be carrying a definite message with them. (Loud Applause).

Sheth Walchand Hirachand in reply, spoke as follows:—

Mr. Pranlalbhai, Sardar Vallabhbhai and Friends,

I have to thank you all for the great honour you have done to me tonight in welcoming me here in your midst and congratulating me for the little service that it has fallen to my lot to render to the cause of National Shipping. I am deeply touched with the kind words of praise which you, Mr. Pranlal, have showered upon me. I am, however, fully conscious of the fact that it is not Walchand but it is the work done by the Scindia Company which forms the vital part of Indian Shipping that has elicited these warm encomiums from you.

I often feel that it has been my good fortune to achieve success in several of my undertakings. But my failure so far in building up an Indian Mercantile Marine of my cherished dreams has filled me with deep disappointment. It is, however, a matter of some solace and satisfaction to me in my work when I find such a distinguished company of my countrymen encouraging me in the task on which I have set my heart.

You will naturally ask me: What is the Indian Mercantile Marine of my cherished dreams. You will also like to know why I have failed in turning those dreams into realities.

I desire to see Indian ships carrying India's maritime trades to the four quarters of the Globe. I am anxious to see that these ships are controlled by Indians as well as managed by Indians. I want to see that these ships are fully manned by my own countrymen. I yearn to see the Indian flag only, as a matter of right, in my own homewaters. I long for the day when I can take my own countrymen

SHETH WALCHAND HIRACHAND REPLYING.

in super-Indian "Victorias" and in super-Indian "Normandies" to all parts of the world. I dream of the time when I can see these ships built in Indian Ship-building Yards. I am impatient to make Indian Shipping the effective instrument of India's national economic policy and a powerful safeguard for the defence of its trade in times of peace. Such a full-fledged Indian Mercantile Marine will hasten the dawn of the day when we shall find India attaining complete independence or Purna Swaraj for which you, I and all have been waiting anxiously and impatiently for all these years.

These are my dreams. You all know that they are far far away from the existing realities. And why is that so? The answer is obvious. We are a subject nation. My friends tell me that Walchand is obstinate. I am firm in my resolve and do not yield. But can I remain or have I remained really so? Do you not all know how Walchand, the obstinate, has to proceed, sometimes invited, some times uninvited to Calcutta and to Delhi and even to London for obtaining that for National Shipping which belongs to it in every country having its national government as a matter of its own birthright.

My friends across the seas often remind me, "You have already got your economic Swaraj." They then tell me that England has given India the boon of discriminating protection. Protection from whom and for whom? That is the question. I often look right and left, backwards and forwards to find this protection for my shipping industry. But what do I find? Not protection but subjection. I have not even the solace for my shipping industry of the benefit of the boon of this discriminating protection, now halting, now hampering, but always reminding one of its untimely approaching demise. And even if my Government were consciously or unconsciously to make the mistake of giving protection to our shipping industry, the present constitutional act will compel them to feed the over-fed lion every time that they feed the famished Indian lamb with the result that instead of the lamb growing side by side with the lion it will soon find itself completely inside the lion. This is the economic Swaraj

which at present is destined for the Shipping industry. And if I try to disown it they say Walchand is obstinate, he has not the Christ-like quality of living and letting others live. What can I do? I must continue to be obstinate as I must remain true to my country and true to my cause.

Some kind but inquisitive friends often ask me: "Walchand, is it true that you had the audacity of asking Lord Inchcape to sell the B. I. to you and is it a fact that when you made such an offer you had hardly six pence in your pocket?" I tell those friends that I do not remember whether I had even a farthing in my pocket at that time. But I warn them as I warn others that I am in dead earnest when I say that I had and have with me the birthright of my country, the justice of my cause, the equity of my claim and the irresistible force of the growing nationalism of a country impatient and anxious to obtain its freedom. It is this unshakable faith both in my cause and in my country that makes me talk and act in a manner which the "live and let live wallahs" fail to appreciate, much less to imitate. What I asked Lord Inchcape in the past, I have asked and I shall continue to ask his successors to give and I hope they who call me their brother in the Empire when it suits them will be well advised to concede India its claims and make India's Walchands their real brethren, whether inside the Empire or outside the Empire.

Apologists on behalf of the foreign vested interests in this country continue to remind us that it is these interests which have built up our trade and add with an air of injured innocence as to how we can ask them to hand them over to Indians now. Some enthusiasts even go further than that. They blame me and say "Walchand, it is your agitation for building up an Indian Mercantile Marine for India, which is responsible for the crushing fetters of commercial safeguards which our just and benevolent foreign Government have imposed upon India". Friends, you however know that the last war made the world recognise the principle of self-determination. The present war is being fought for getting that principle of self-determination implemented. May I therefore ask these apologists and those enthusiasts whether it is not natural, whether it is

not just, for a patriotic nation smarting under a deep sense of humiliation, caused by the domination of the conquering race in all walks of life and burning under the grave wrong, of its rights being taken away from it as a result of the conquest, that it should try to regain what belonged to it, and what it would and could have developed under normal conditions of human affairs? That is the test which we have to apply. The Indian National Shipping Industry is trying, is struggling, to come into its own. And just as our political leaders are determined not to rest till they obtain self-determination for this country we who are building up the industries of this land will not slacken our efforts – safeguards or no safeguards – till we get every possible opportunity, facility and encouragement to build up our own industries in our own land in our own free, and unfettered way.

This reminds me of another sin my critics tell me I have committed. I am told: "Walchand, you are the villain of the piece. You are the cause of the separation of Burma from India." I do not know whether I am responsible for this sin or not. I can however tell you that when the freight war—let me add, a serious but concealed freight war—was being carried on by the vested interests, I appealed to Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra, the then High Commissioner for India in London, to use his influence with Lord Inchcape and establish peace in our home-waters. Do you know, Gentlemen, what reply Lord Inchcape gave on that occasion? His Lordship was pleased to advise Sir Bhupen "Tell your friend Walchand to come to me, see me and sue before me for terms of peace after Burma is separated, but ask him to carry on, if he can, till that is not achieved." I shall leave it to you, Friends, to judge for yourselves who is responsible for separating Burma from India.

An important report of the Imperial Shipping Committee was published a few months ago. It contains a good word of praise for the vigorous management of the Scindia Company. It sympathises with the aspirations of the Indians to build up their own National Mercantile Marine. It appeals to the vested British shipping

interests to change their present policy towards Indian shipping, and to co-operate with it, and to help it in realising its aspirations. It has come to the conclusion that it is essential that every part of the British Empire should have its own national mercantile marine, commensurate with and worthy of its own maritime trades. I do know the reaction, that this important document has produced on the minds of the authorities both here and outside India, who have at present the power to make or mar the destinies of India. In fact it is definitely unfavourable to our legitimate aspirations. I have failed to receive so far, any proof that it is otherwise. The Imperial Shipping Committee are anxious for fostering the maritime solidarity of the countries forming the British Commonwealth of Nations, so that they can present an united front against the other foreign shipping interests which dominate and capture the trade of the Orient. But what about India and Indian shipping? Our Government tell us that Empire shipping includes Indian shipping. Yes. The lion includes the lamb, not outside, but within itself. What we want is Indian shipping as distinct from British shipping, Indian shipping owned, controlled and managed by Indians themselves. Is it too much to ask that those who have got the power to help Indians in their onward march, will give their most serious thought to the most modest recommendations of such an influential body, as the Imperial Shipping Committee.

Some sympathetic critics however advise me: "Walchand, hasten slowly". We are now in the midst of a war. Be satisfied with what you have got at present. Everything will be all right when the war comes to an end". I am not a Prophet. But I had reached my years of discretion long before the last War. I remember what were the promises given then, and the disillusionment that followed. I do not know when this war will come to an end. I do not know what the times of peace will have in store for India—new rights or fresh fetters. Time and tide wait for no one and the tides in the Indian ocean are no exception to this universal rule. India has to protect its trades. India has to defend its coasts: British shipping is losing ground. It has to seek the help of neutral shipping

Will it accept the proferred hand of friendship of Indian national shipping? Is this not the time when Indian shipping should be helped and encouraged and India should be helped to build ships, so that not only can India protect its trades and defend its coasts but can also be of help to Britain in her present hour of need? Instead, therefore, of asking me to 'hasten slowly' may I in all humility ask my sympathetic critics to allow me to offer to them a little of my courage and a little of my imagination so that they and I can work for the common purpose of building up a powerful National Mercantile Marine. And may I remind them that while every national government consider it their duty to help their national mercantile marine in every possible way, during the times of peace, they recognise the development of such national mercantile marine, as the imperative necessity of their country, during the times of war. Let them note that. If India has to fall in line with the recognised standards of modern nationalism, its Government will have to do what every national government have been doing all over the world.

When my friends meet me I generally reserve the talking to myself and make them listen to what I have to say. I have been guilty of living up to that reputation even tonight. Let me however not detain you any longer and make the very sumptuous dishes which our kind host has so lavishly provided for us difficult to digest. Let me, therefore, once again thank every one of you for the great honour which you have done to me as representing the national shipping industry in the country. This great and distinguished gathering tonight bears an eloquent testimony to the unquestionable support which the demand for a National Mercantile Marine has received all over India. It will give me strength and inspiration for facing the struggle, which lies ahead. May I express the hope that your presence here tonight and the warm congratulations which you have accorded to me and to the cause which I represent, will be appreciated in the proper quarters and make them realise, that wisdom lies not in ignoring the voice of a nation but in carrying out the Nation's behests, without delay. I thank you all Gentlemen.

Mr. B. N. Karanjia, Mayor of Bombay, thanked Sheth Pranlal on behalf of the guests in the following words:—

Gentlemen,

I rise before you to propose a hearty vote of thanks to our host Sheth Pranlalbhai. We have all already heard how his family has been connected with the shipping industry of Bombay, and that his father Sheth Devkaran Nanjee was a pioneer in chartering steamers for foreign trade. Sheth Devkaran's enterprise made it possible for smaller merchants to establish direct relations with their clients outside India. You will all agree with me that such a venture in those times when big European Houses used to utterly ignore the smaller merchant, deserves our admiration.

I fully associate myself with the previous speakers in congratulating Mr. Walchand, the honoured guest of the day, on his great services to National Shipping. Gentlemen, India has produced only one such courageous and enterprising man like Mr. Walchand and that was Sir Jamsetji Tata. Mr. Walchand has carried on that flag of National Shipping which was once raised by the House of the Tatas but with unfortunate results. The powerful British companies like the P. & O. were responsible for bringing disaster to the shipping venture of the Tatas. We are all glad, however, that Mr. Walchand has proved more than a match for the British and has built up such a magnificent company like the Scindia Company in the teeth of ruthless opposition from the Britisher. We should all the more congratulate him for having built up this industry not only without any assistance or protection from the Government but inspite of the neglect that the Government have shown towards the development of this most essential industry of this country.

Mr. Walchand is not only a shipping man. He is almost everywhere. He is connected with shipping, with cement, with insurance,

with sugar and many other industries. I hear that he is going to start the motor car industry in this country. I also hear that he intends to build aeroplanes in this country. It is but natural then that as patriotic Indians we feel proud of the achievments of Mr. Walchand. Gentlemen, on your behalf I assure Mr. Walchand that he will have our full co-operation and support not only in his desire to build up a great Indian Shipping industry but in all the other industries which he proposes to found in India.

I thank Seth Pranlalbhai for having arranged this brilliant gathering to congratulate Mr. Walchand and I am sure you will join with me in the request that he should arrange many more such occasions where we can show our appreciation towards men like Mr. Walchand of whom India has every reason to be proud (Applause).

The List of Guests present at the Dinner.

The Hon'ble Mr. Shantidas Askuran
Mr. Hooseinbhoy A. Lalljee
,, Manilal B. Nanavati
Seth Ambalal Sarabhai
Sir Homi Mehta, Kt.
The Hon'ble Sir Suleman Cassum Haji Mitha, Kt.
Mr. J. C. Setalvad
Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Kt.
Sir M. Visvesvaraya, K. C. I. E.
Dr. M. D. D. Gilder
Mr. Behram N. Karanjia
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. V. Divatia
Sardar Vallabbhai Patel
Seth Walchand Hirachand
Seth Pranlal Devakaran Nanjee
Sjt. Bhulabhai J. Desai
The Hon'ble Mr. M. M. Pakvasa
Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Kt.
Mr. K. M. Munshi
Sir Govindrao B. Pradhan, Kt.
Seth Mathuradas Vissanji
The Hon'ble Sir Rahimtoola Chinoy, Kt.
Mr. R. P. Masani
,, M. C. Ghia
,, M. D. Bhatt, M. A., I. C. S.
Seth Chatrabhuj Gordhandas
Seth Choonilal Devkaran Nanjee
Mr. K. R. P. Shroff
,, Mahomedbhoy I. M. Rowjee

Mr. Yusuf Abdulla Fozan
Dewan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri
Sir Shapoorjee Billimoria, Kt.
Mr. Indravadan N. Mehta
Sir Sultan Chinoy, Kt.
Mr. M. C. Setalvad
,, H. K. Kirpalani
,, Mathooradas Tricamjee
,, Gordhandas G. Morarjee
Dewan Bahadur C. S. Ratnasabapathi Mudaliar
Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta
,, Shantikumar N. Morarji
,, Tulsidas Kilachand
,, Dinsha D. Romer
,, Dinsha K. Daji
,, Durgaprasad S. Laskari
,, Gulabchand Hirachand
,, P. B. Advani
,, Leo Rodrigues
,, Bhawanji A. Khimji
Prof. C. N. Vakil
Seth Shoorji Vallabhdas
Mr. Dhunji Devsey
,, N. B. Abuvalla
Dr. R. K. Matre
Mr. S. N. Damle
,, P. T. Asar (Prajamitra Kesari)
'Associated Press' Representative
Mr. Narottam Mathradas
,, Mathew D' Souza
,, Mathradas Dwarkadas
,, S. K. Patil
,, E. R. Hirjibehedin
,, Dhirajlal Modi
,, B. S. Dabke

Mr. K. C. Desai
,, Madhavlal M. Bhatt
,, S. C. Majumdar
,, R. C. Mehta
,, Anandrao B. Vaidya
,, D. M. Dahanukar
,, H. M. Desai
,, Financial News" Representative
Mr. S. Gopalan
,, J. P. Mehta
,, Nadkarni, D. ("Sunday Standard")
,, K. R. Patwardhan
Mr. M. G. Vora
Mr. Mahomed Suleman Mitha
Mr. Mangaldas B. Mehta
Mr. Vithaldas D. Govindjee
Mr. B. V. Modi
,, Mohanlal A. Parekh
,, Chimanlal B. Parekh
,, Anandji Kanji
,, K. Srinivasan ("Free Press")
,, S. C. Banerjee
"Bombay Chronicle" Representative
"Commerce" Representative
Mr. Fatehchand S. Choksey
,, Ardeshir P. Murzban
Captain K. Ookerjee
Mr. S. J. Pandya
,, V. I. Puri
,, Vithaldas P. Desai
,, Meghji Gopalji Kapadia
,, Merwanji B. Dalal
,, W. D. TenBroeck
,, Ratilal T. Thakkar
,, Soonderdas Morarjee

Mr. Harkissondas Lukhmidass
„ B. M. Bhargava
„ Jagmohandas Kapadia
„ Vasantram Jamietram
„ Bhogilal C. Shah
„ C. A. Buch
„ C. M. Trivedi
„ M. J. Buch
„ Bhagwandas Ramdas Dossa
„ S. C. Driver
„ Jethalal P. Mehta
„ R. E. Kumana
„ M. D. Raote
„ D. T. Mama.
„ S. A. Brelvi
„ J. K. Mehta
„ V. L. Mehta
Dr. B. J. Modi
Mr. P. N. Vevaina
„ R. S. Captain
„ Calian D. Vaidya
„ Dahyabhai Patel
"Evening News of India" Representative
Mr. J. M. Deb ('United Press')
„ Dinshaw Dadachanji
„ Jayantilal R. Trivedi
„ Gordhandas Bhagwandas
„ Harshadrai B. Parekh
„ B. D. Sardesai
„ Ranchoddas Mathuradas
„ Manek P. Mistry
„ Thobhanbhai Devji
„ Begraj Gupta
„ Amarchand N. Shroff
„ A. S. Bharatan ('Associated Press')

Mr. Varjivan K. Gandhi
„ Bhagubhai Mafatlal Gagalbhai
„ Devidas J. Desai
„ Dharamdas S. Kothari
„ Pannalal Bansilal
„ Gordhandas V. Patel
„ Gordhanlal Bansilal
Khan Bahadur Haji Hasanally P. Ibrahim
Mr. Himatlal V. Gandhi
'Hindustan Times' Representative
'Nava Kal' Representative
Mr. K. M. Shinkar
Rajaguru Ramkrishna H. Pandit
Mr. S. A. Aiyar (Associated Press)
„ K. P. Shah
„ M. A. Fazalbhoy
„ Jivatlal Purtapshi
„ J. S. Pereira ('Evening News')
„ Salvatiswaran ('The Hindu')
„ Jagmohandas M. Mehta
„ Jaswantlal V. Bhagat
„ Chimanlal C. Shah
„ C. S. Patel
„ S. Sadanand
„ Harilal Govindji Mehta
"Hindustan Praja Mitra" Representative
Mr. Jamnadas Dayalji
„ N. C. Javeri
„ K. K. Chitalia ('Jaya Bharat')
„ V. Krishnaswami
„ Venilal M. Bhagat
„ Vijay N. Cantol
Editor-in-Chief 'Sunday Standard'
Mr. Ratanchand Hirachand
„ B. L. Malpani

Mr. Gajadhar D. Somani
Dr. M. Venkatrao
,, Nandlal M. Bhuta
,, Thakorelal H. Vakil
,, N. J. Shah
,, Purshotamdas H. Shah
Editor 'Hindustan Praja Mitra'
Mr. Jayantilal Shah
,, Shivpratap B. Joshi
,, Keshavdev Nivetia
,, Lalitchandra C. D. Nanjee
,, Shantilal L. Thar
,, Natwarlal S. Choksey
,, Pravin V. Gandhi
,, S. W. Padgaokar
,, Lalchand Hirachand
,, Ratilal M. Nanavati
,, Mahomed Hussain Hasham Premji
,, Devsey Thakarsee Mooljee
,, Ravjee Ghellabhoy
Dr. N. A. Sukhthankar
Mr. Tanubhai D. Desai
,, Jamnadas Ramdas Dossa
,, D. F. Karaka
,, Khimji Shamji
,, Manilal Dhunji Tejani
'Times of India' Chief Reporter
Mr. Rasiklal R. Trivedi
,, Kundan V. Gandhi
,, Vrindavandas H. Bhagat
,, Narandas R. Cantol
'Jam-e-Jamshed' Representative
Mr. M. C. Chagla
Dr. Jethalal V. Vora
Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas

Mr. B. V. Jadhav
,, Laxmidas M. Khatau
,, D. V. Nadkarni
,, Narayandal Bansilal
,, N. V. Modak
Dr. Purshotamdas Patel.
Mr. H. B. Shivdasani
,, Pingle Venkatrama Reddy
,, V. V. Shaligram
,, P. N. Mehta
,, V. C. Setalvad
,, Sankalchand G. Shah
,, Samaldas Gandhi ('Janmabhumi')
,, Jamnadas Khushaldas
Rajamantri Kallianji Mohanjee
Mr. Morarjee Hemraj
,, Narayanji Kara

A GROUP PHOTO TAKEN ON THE OCCASION.

VIII

Pkt-8

"શ્રીયુત્ વાલચંદ હીરાચંદની રાષ્ટ્રીય વ્હાણવટાંની મહાન સેવાની કદર."

રાષ્ટ્રીય વ્હાણવટાંની મહાન સેવા કરવા માટે

શ્રીયુત્ વાલચંદ હીરાચંદને

ધન્યવાદ આપવાને, વિલીંગ્ડન સ્પોર્ટ્સ ક્લબ, (મુંબઈ) માં,

ગુરૂવાર, તારીખ ૧૧ જાન્યુઆરી ૧૯૪૦ ની રહાંજે,

શ્રીયુત્ પ્રાણલાલ દેવકરણ નાનજીએ

યોજેલ ભોજન સમારંભ વખતે આપાયેલાં ભાષણો.

N.M. 8-17

અનુક્રમણીકા.

	પાનું.
શેઠ પ્રાણલાલ દેવકરણ નાનજીનું ભાષણ	૧
સરદાર વલ્લભભાઈ પટેલનું ભાષણ	૬
શેઠ વાલચંદ હીરાચંદનું ભાષણ	૯
શેઠ બહેરામ એન. કરંજીયાનું ભાષણ	૧૫

શેઠ વાલચંદ હીરાચંદને અભિનંદન આપતાં શેઠ પ્રાણલાલ દેવકરણ નાનજીએ નીચેનું ભાષણ કર્યું હતું:—

સુજ્ઞ બન્ધુઓ,

શ્રીયુત વાલચંદભાઈ, જેણે હાલનાં દેશી વ્હાણવટામાં નવા પ્રાણ રેડ્યા છે, તેમને અભિનન્દન આપવા માટે આજનો પ્રસંગ યોજાયો છે. મ્હારાં આમંત્રણનું માન આપી, આપ સૌ અહીં પધાર્યા છો તે માટે હું આપનો ઋણી છું. સરદાર શ્રી વલ્લભભાઈ, આપે આ પ્રસંગ માટે બારડોલીથી આજે સવારે ખાસ પધારીને જે તકલીફ ઉઠાવી છે, અને એ રીતે આ પ્રસંગ તરફ જે સહાનુભૂતિ દર્શાવી છે, તે માટે હું આપનો સવિશેષ આભારી છું.

વ્હાણવટા સાથેનો મ્હારા સદગત પિતાશ્રી દેવકરણ નાનજીનો સંબંધ કેટલ સને૧૮૭૯ ની સાલથી હોઈ, તેઓ શિપિંગ લાઈનમાં બહુ મ્હોટો ભાગ ભજવી રહ્યા હતા અને છગનદાસ કંપનીને નામે વેપાર કરતી પેઢીમાં અમુક વર્ષ મ્હે પણ કામ કર્યું હતું. અમે દર વર્ષે કાંઈ નહિ તો સાઠ, સિત્તેર સ્ટીમરો 'ચાર્ટર્ડ' કરતા હતા અને મુંબઈથી યુરોપ, લગભગ પાંચથી સાત લાખ ટન માલ અમારી ચાર્ટર્ડ સ્ટીમરો મારફત ચઢતો. આગલી લડાઈમાં અમારી ઘણીએક ચાર્ટર્ડ સ્ટીમરો સરકારે રેકિવઝિશન કરી, ઇત્યાદિ કારણોથી ૧૯૧૬ ના અરસામાં અમારો એ ધંધો બંધ થયો. એ રીતે મુંબઈમાં ઘર કરી બેઠેલી પરદેશી લાઈનરોની આડખીલી દૂર થઇ. વ્હાણવટાં સાથેના અમારા આ જુના સંબંધને લીધે એ ઉદ્યોગ તરફ મારો પક્ષપાત હોય એ સ્વાભાવિકજ છે. વળી અતિશય મ્હોટાં સાધનોવાળા, શ્રીમંત અને પોતાની સરકાર તરફથી ખૂબજ સહાનુભૂતિ અને મદદ અહર્નિશ મેળવતા પરદેશી વ્હાણવટીઓનો સામનો કરવો એ કેવું કઠિન અને મહાદુષ્કર કાર્ય છે એનો મ્હને પણ કાંઈક અનુભવ થયેલ; પ્રબળ પરદેશી હરીફોનો સામનો કરીને હિન્દી વ્હાણવટાનો ઉત્કર્ષ સાધવામાં શ્રી વાલચંદભાઇને જે મહાન પરિશ્રમ અને મુશ્કેલીઓ વેઠવી પડે છે તેની મ્હને સહેજે કલ્પના આવી શકે છે. આ મુશ્કેલીઓ સ્હામે અને આવી મુશ્કેલીઓ ઉભી કરનાર પરદેશીઓ અને એના સત્તાધારી મિત્રો સ્હામે વાલચંદભાઇએ જે અનેક સંગ્રામોમાં ઝંપલાવ્યું છે તે વિષે વિસ્તાર ન કરતાં, હું એટલું જ કહીશ કે એ વિષેની મ્હને જે થોડી ઘણી પણ માહિતી છે તેથી શ્રીયુત વાલચંદભાઈ પ્રતિ મ્હને ભારે આદર ઉપજે છે, અને તેથીજ આજનો પ્રસંગ યોજવા હું પ્રેરાયો છું.

એક કાળે હિંદુસ્થાનનાં વ્હાણવટાંનો ઝંડો સાત સાગરનાં બંદરોમાં મગરૂરીથી ફરફરતો હતો. એક કાળ એવો આવ્યો જ્યારે હિન્દી વ્હાણવટાંને રસાતાળમાં પ્હોંચાડવામાં આવ્યું. એ પણ વખત હતો, જ્યારે પરદેશી વ્હાણવટું હિન્દનું ધન હરી જાય એનેજ

સરકાર 'હિન્દી વ્હાણવટું' માનતી એટલુંજ નહિ પણ એમાંજ હિન્દુસ્થાનની આબાદી છે એમ પ્રજાને સમજાવતી, આ ભ્રાન્તિ આજે સદભાગ્યે દૂર થઈ છે. આજે રાષ્ટ્રીય વ્હાણવટાનું સાચ્ચું સ્વરૂપ સ્પષ્ટ થયું છે, તેનો યશ વાલચંદભાઇને છે. આજે તો સૌ સમજે છે કે હિન્દી વ્હાણવટું તો તેનેજ કહેવાય કે જેમાં હિન્દીવાનોનીજ મુડી રોકાયેલી હોય, જેના ઉપર હિન્દીવાનોનોજ કાબુ હોય, અને જેનો વહિવટ હિન્દીવાનોનાજ હાથમાં હોય. આવાં સાચાં સ્વદેશી વ્હાણવટાનો સંપૂર્ણ વિકાસ થાય તોજ હિન્દનુ ધન પરદેશીઓને હાથે હરાઈ જતું અટકે, હિન્દનો આયાત નિકાશનો વેપાર વધે, હિન્દી બનાવટની વસ્તુઓ માટે પરદેશની બજારો સર થાય, પરદેશીઓના આક્રમણ સામે હિન્દના કિનારાનું રક્ષણ થાય એટલુંજ નહિ પણ પૂર્ણ વિકાસ પામેલાં રાષ્ટ્રીય વ્હાણવટાં વિના આઝાદી પણ અધુરી રહે. આવાં સ્વદેશી વ્હાણવટાંનું વાલચંદભાઇએ સાચું સ્વરૂપ સમજાવ્યું છે એટલુંજ નહિ પણ એવાં વ્હાણવટાંને માટે તેઓ પોતાની જાત ખરચી રહયા છે.

આ સદીની શરૂઆતમાં સ્વદેશીની ભાવના જાગ્રત થઈ. પ્હેલાં તો એ ભાવના મુખ્યત્વે કાપડ માટેજ રહી; પરંતુ સમય જતાં અન્ય વસ્તુઓમાં પણ પ્રસરી. અનેક ઉદ્યોગોને આ ભાવનાથી ઉત્તેજન મળ્યું અને લોખંડ, ખાંડ, સીમેન્ટ જેવા અમુક ઉદ્યોગોને સરકાર તરફથી કંઇક રક્ષણ પણ મળ્યું, પણ શિપિંગના વિષયમાં સ્વદેશીની ભાવના ઉપરજ બધો આધાર રાખવો રહયો. પરંતુ શિપિંગ એ દેશનો એક મહાન ઉદ્યોગ છે તે ભાવના—અને તેને વિષે સ્વદેશીની ભાવના—એ ભાવનાઓને વાલચંદભાઇએ સરજી, પ્રેરી અને સહુનાં મનમાં સચોટ કરી. આવીજ ભાવનાથી પ્રેરાઇને વાલચંદભાઇ વ્હાણવટાંને, દેશની આબાદીની નજરેજ જોય છે, અને વ્યવહારમાં એ ભાવનાને કોઈપણ રીતે આંચ ન આવે એ વિષે પૂરી કાળજી રાખે છે.

આ ભાવનાથીજ તેમણે બંગાલ બરમા સ્ટીમ નેવિગેશન કંપનીની જે પળે હરરાજી થતી હતી અને વર્ષો સુધીની લડાઇ લડતાં છેવટે એ પરદેશીયોને હસ્તક જતી હતી, તે પળે તેને કુમક આપી એનું સ્વદેશિત્વ અખંડ રાખ્યું. આ સ્વદેશી વ્હાણવટાંની આવીજ દાઝથી પ્રેરાઇને જ્યારે 'માઝી આગબોટ' કંપનીની સ્ટીમરો ઉપર જપ્તી આવી અને ચોવીશ કલાકમાં કંપનીની હસ્તી નાબુદ થઇ જાય એવા કટોકટીને પ્રસંગે એને જીવતદાનજ નહિ, પરંતુ અભયદાન આપ્યું. પશ્ચિમ કિનારા ઉપર ચાલતી અને ચાલી રહેલી નહાની કંપનીઓ સ્હામે જ્યારે પરદેશી કંપનીઓ નૂરની હરીફાઈ પોકારવાના નિશ્ચય ઉપર આવી ત્યારે એ પરદેશી કંપનીઓને સાથ ન આપતાં પોતાની હિંદી કંપનીઓને તેમણે ઉગારી લીધી એટલુંજ નહિ પણ એમ કરવાથી પોતાને લાખો રૂપિયાનું નૂર જતુ કરવું પડયું તે પણ એમણે આનંદથી સ્વીકારી લીધું.

આજે આખા દેશમાં હિન્દી વ્હાણવટાંનો પ્રશ્ન જીવતો જાગતો જે કોઇયે બનાવ્યો હોય, તો તેમાં વાલચંદભાઈનું સ્થાન સહુથી પ્હેલું છે. દુનિયાના સ્વતંત્ર દેશો, જેવા કે—ઇંગ્લૅંડ, જાપાન, અમેરિકા,—તે દેશો,—વેપારી વ્હાણોને પોતાના દેશની કેવી અમૂલ્ય દોલત સ્હમજે છે એ કોઇયે સચોટ રીતે સ્હમજાવ્યું હોય તો તેનું પણ પ્રથમમાન વાલચંદભાઇનેજ ઘટે છે.

રાષ્ટ્રીય વ્હાણવટાંનું જતન કરી તેને જોઇતી આર્થિક તેમજ બીજી રીતની મદદ આપી તેને કેમ જીવાડવું, પગભર કરવું, વિકસાવવું અને દેશની આબાદીના સાધન તરીકે તેને કેમ વાપરવું તે માટે સ્વતંત્ર દેશની સરકારોએ શું કર્યું છે અને શું કરી રહી છે તેનો પુરો અને સચોટ ખ્યાલ જો કોઇએ આપ્યો હોય, તો તેમાં પણ પ્રથમ નામ વાલચંદભાઇનું જ લેવું પડશે. વળી હિન્દી સરકારનાં દ્વાર હિન્દી વ્હાણવટાંને જીવાડવાને માટે નિશદિન જો કોઇ ખખડાવી રહ્યું હોય અને દેશભરમાં હિન્દી વ્હાણવટાંનો સરકારે વિકાસ કરવો જોઇએ એ સતત માંગણીનો જો કોઇએ ચાલુ પોકાર સરકારને આંગણે કર્યો હોય, અને સરકારના હૃદયપલટાને માટે જો કોઈ કપરાં તપ તપી રહ્યું હોય, તો તે પણ વાલચંદભાઇજ છે. તેમણે હિંદી વ્હાણવટાં માટે દિલ્હી, સિમલા, લંડન, કલકત્તા, અને મુંબઈ વચ્ચે અસંખ્ય ફેરા ખાધા છે. સત્તાધીશોને સમજાવવા માટે અને તેમની પાસે યોગ્ય પગલાં ભરાવવા માટે તનતોડ મેહનત કરી છે, અને દેશી વ્હાણવટાંનો ઉદ્યોગ આપણા દેશમાં યોગ્યપદ પ્રાપ્ત કરે તે માટે સ્વર્ગ પાતાળ એક કરવા જેટલી જહેમત ઉઠાવી છે. દેશી વ્હાણવટાં માટેની જેટલી એમની ભાવના ઉગ્ર છે તેટલાજ તેમના પ્રયાસો પણ ઉગ્ર છે. રાત દિવસ એજ ધ્યેયનું એમનું ચિંતન છે, અને એની સિદ્ધિ માટેજ એમનો વ્યવહાર છે.

આવા વાલચંદભાઇનો ઉપર ઉપરનોજ પરિચય મેળવનારને જે વાલચંદભાઈ દેખાય છે તે ખરા વાલચંદભાઈ નથી. વાલચંદભાઇને કોઇ મળવા આવે છે ત્યારે નથી તેને શિષ્ટાચારથી તેઓ વધાવી લેતા, કે નથી તેઓ મીઠાં વચનોની આપલે કરવામાં ક્ષણભર પણ રોકાતા. સામાને કેવું લાગશે તેની લેશપણ દરકાર કર્યા વગર પોતાના વિચારો અને મતો ખુલ્લી રીતે અને નગ્ન રૂપે કહેતાં તેઓ જરા પણ નથી અચકાતા; કોઈવાર તો સાંભળનારની સામું જોવાને બદલે સિલિંગ તરફ જોઇનેજ બોલતા હોય છે. 'હા' કે 'ના' એમ એકાક્ષરીથી પતતું હોય તો બીજો શબ્દ ઉચ્ચારવાની તસ્દી નથી લેતા. મળવાની ઇચ્છા હોય તેને જો ટેલીફોનથી પતાવાતો હોય તો ટેલીફોનથીજ મળી લે; કારણ તેમની સ્પીડ મોટરકાર અને એરોપ્લેન કરતાં વધારે ત્વરિત છે અને તેમનું મગજ તાર તેમજ વાયર લેસની ઝડપ કરતાં પણ વધુ વેગે દોડે છે. આવા ઘણીએવાર કડવા લાગતા વાલચંદભાઇમાં એવું કયું આકર્ષણ છે જેથી આપણે એને ચાહીએ છીએ.? નવા હુન્નર ઉદ્યોગમાં ઝંપલાવવાની એમનામાં સાહસ બુદ્ધિ છે, એ હુન્નર ઉદ્યોગો સંપૂર્ણ રીતે સ્વદેશીજ રહે અને હિન્દની આબાદી કરે એવી ઘટના નિર્માણ કરવાની એમની અનેરી દૃષ્ટિ છે, હિન્દનો ભાવિ વિકાસ એવી ઘટનાથીજ થઈ શકે એવી એમને અચળ શ્રદ્ધા છે. ગમે તે ભોગે એ વિકાસ સાધવા માટેની એમની અપૂર્વ હિંમત છે અને સાધના સફળ કરવાની અનોખી આવડત છે. મ્હારા મત પ્રમાણે એક શબ્દમાં કહીએ તો એ તેમની સર્જક શક્તિ (Creative Genious) છે. એમણે અનેક ભવ્ય મકાનો સરજ્યાં છે, જબ્બર પુલો બાંધ્યા છે, પર્વતો ભેદીને બુગદાઓ બનાવ્યા છે, રેલ્વે લાઇનો નાંખી છે, લશ્કરી છાવણીઓ ઉભી કરી છે અને ખેતીવાડીમાં સુદ્ધાં અનેક સર્જનો કર્યાં છે; અને મોટરકાર, એરોપ્લેન અને સ્ટીમરોનાં સર્જનના મનુસુબા સેવી રહ્યા છે, પરંતુ જે **સર્જન** માટે વાલચંદભાઇનું નામ દેશના ઇતિહાસમાં યાદ રહેશે તે સર્જન તો રાષ્ટ્રીય વ્હાણવટાંની ભાવનાનુંજ છે.

વાલચંદભાઇને સુપર વિકટોરિયા અને સુપર રૂટ્રેથનેવર જેવી સ્ટીમરો રાષ્ટ્રીય ઝંડા નીચે દુનિયાંના બંદરોમાં દેશનો વેપાર કરતી થઈ જાય એ જોવાની તમન્ના છે. અપૂર્વ હિંમત, પરિશ્રમ અને આગ્રહથી રાષ્ટ્રીય વ્હાણવટાં માટે વાલચંદભાઇએ આજ સુધી મહાન સેવા કરી છે તે જોતાં મ્હને પૂર્ણ વિશ્વાસ છે કે પરમકૃપાળુ પરમેશ્વર એમની એ તમન્ના પૂરી કરશેજ.

આપ સૌ જાણો છો તેમ "સિંધિઆ" અને "વાલચંદભાઈ" એ બે નામો ઓતપ્રોત છે; એટલે સરદારશ્રી વલ્લભભાઈ પટેલે 'સીંધીઆ હાઉસ' ખુલ્લું મૂકતાં જે નીચે પ્રમાણે સુંદર વાક્યો ઉચ્ચાર્યાં હતાં તેના કરતાં વિશેષ સારા શબ્દોમાં ભાગ્યેજ હું શ્રી. વાલચંદભાઇને અભિનંદન આપી શકું તેથી, અંતમાં, સરદારશ્રીનાજ અર્થપૂર્ણ શબ્દો ચોરી લેવાની હું ધૃષ્ટતા કરૂં છું, અને આશા રાખું છું કે સરદારશ્રી, આપ મને તેની ક્ષમા આપશો:—

"આ ભવ્ય વિશાળ ઇમારત, જે ૨૦ વર્ષ સુધી ખેડેલા સાહસની મુર્તિ સમી તમારી સમક્ષ ખડી કરવામાં આવી છે તેની એકે એક ઈંટ અને એકે એક પત્થર ઉપર તવારીખ લખાએલી છે અને ભવિષ્યની તવારીખ લખાવાની છે....સ્વદેશાભિમાન ભરી સુંદર મુર્તિ તમારી સમક્ષ આ ઇમારત રૂપે પડી છે. ....હિન્દમાં એવો કોઇ પણ કમભાગી નહિ હોય કે જેને સીંધીયા કંપનીનો જ્વલંત ઇતીહાસ વાંચી મગરૂબી થતી નહિ હોય.

"રામાયણમાંથી રામે જે કરી બતાવ્યું તે ગાળી નાખીને જો કોઇ આપણને રામાયણ સંભળાવે તો તે સુંદર કેમ લાગે? વીસ વીસ વર્ષના કંપનીના ઇતિહાસમાં શ્રી. વાલચંદ-ભાઇનો હિસ્સો રામાયણમાંના રામના હિસ્સા જેટલોજછે. એમની સતત્ સેવા અને કાર્યશક્તિની અને પરિશ્રમની આપણે સહુ કદર કરીએ છીએ. સિંધીયા કંપનીને એવા દેશાભિમાની સંચાલક મળ્યા છે તે કંપનીનું માતબર નશીબ દેખાડે છે.....સિંધીયાનું રાષ્ટ્રમાં દેશના હિતમાં સ્થાન ઉંચે દરજ્જે રહેલું છે.....

"જ્યારે જ્યારે હિંદવાસીઓ પરદેશ જતાં વહાણમાં પગ મુકે છે ત્યારે તે વહાણના વાવટા સામે જુએ છે, અને એ વાવટો હિંદુસ્તાનનો નથી, એ જોતાં તેઓનાં શિર શરમથી નીચે ઢળી રહે છે. આપણને હિંદુસ્થાનનો એ વાવટો હવે દુનિયાં ભરમાં ફરકાવવો છે..... જે પરદેશી શિપિંગ કંપનીઓ 'સેફગાર્ડોની' મદદ અને ઓથ મેળવી રહી છે અને સલ્તનતની જે કુમક મેળવી રહી છે તે સેફગાર્ડ અને મદદ જો સીંધીઆની પાછળ હોય તો તે આજે એકે એક મહાસાગરમાં પોતાનો વાવટો ફરકાવી શકતે. હિન્દ કમનશીબ છે; પરંતુ સીંધીઆને અને શ્રી. વાલચંદને મ્હારે ખાસ એ કહેવું છે કે તમારે હિંમત હારવાની જરૂર નથી..... તમારી પછવાડે આખો દેશ ઉભો છે.....સ્વદેશી કંપનીની મહાસભાની વ્યાખ્યા મહાત્માજીએ સોનેરી અક્ષરે લખેલી છે; અને તે કાયમ રહેશે. હિન્દ કોઇનો કિનારો કબ્જે કરવા ઇચ્છતું નથી પણ પોતાનાજ કિનારાનું અવશ્ય રક્ષણ કરવા માગે છે.....

"સિંધીઆ કંપનીને તથા તેના સંચાલકોને અંતરની સહાનુભુતી અને સહાયનાં વચનનો સંદેશો આપવાને હું આવ્યો છું..... સિંધીઆ કંપનીએ બીજી નાની

કંપનીઓને રક્ષણ આપ્યું છે. "ડફરીન" માં જે કેડેટો તાલીમ લઈ રહ્યા છે એ કેડેટોને સિંધીઆની બોટો ન હોય તો કયાં જગ્યા મળે? અત્યારે તો એ કિનારા પરનો આપણો કારભાર માછલાં પકડવા પુરતો છે. જેણે પોતાનો દરિયાકાંઠો પરદેશીઓને ગીરો આપ્યો હોય તેવો એક પણ બીજો દેશ નહિ હોય ..... દુનીઆમાં ક્યાંઈ એવો દેશ તો બતાવો કે જેનો કિનારો પરદેશીઓના હાથમાં હોય અને વળી તેઓ દેશી સામે લાલ આંખ કાઢતા હોય!

"સિંધીઆ માટે ખાસ મગરૂબી લેવા જેવી વાત તો એ છે કે તેના મુખ્ય માણસો ગમે તેવી જવાબદારી ઉપાડી લે તેવા બાહોશ છે; એમનાથીજ સિંધીઆ કંપની શોભી રહી છે. તેમને હું ધન્યવાદ આપું છું.

"અંતરની ભાવના પ્રકટ કરતાં હું આશીર્વાદ આપું છું કે સ્વદેશી વહાણવટાંની કીર્તિ અને ધજા જ્યાં દેશ પરદેશમાં ગાજી રહે; એનો ઝંડો દુનીઆ ભરના મહાસાગરમાં ફરકતો થાય અને જગતમાં છાતી કાઢીને રહી શકે એવું એ સ્થાન મેળવી શકે....."

શ્રી લાલચંદભાઈ, સરદારશ્રીનાં આ ઐતિહાસિક વાકયો સિંધીઆને બદલે તમારા પ્રતિ ઉચ્ચારી, હું આપને દેશી વહાણવટાં માટેની આપની મહાન સેવાઓ માટે, સહૃદય ધન્યવાદ અને અભિનંદન આપું છું.

આ પ્રસંગે બોલતાં, સરદાર વલ્લભભાઈ પટેલે નીચે પ્રમાણે ઉદ્‌ગારો કાઢયા હતા:—

પ્રાણલાલભાઈ અને ભાઇઓ,

આજના પ્રસંગે જો કોઇને અભિનન્દનના બે બોલ બોલવાનો અધિકાર હોય તો તે આજના આપણા યજમાન પ્રાણલાલ ભાઇનો છે. અને બીજાને બોલવાનો અધિકાર હોય તો એમના આ મોંઘા મ્હેમાન વાલચંદભાઇનો છે. ત્રીજાને એમાં સ્થાન હોઈ ન શકે; પરંતુ પ્રાણલાલ ભાઇએ અહિં આપણું આવું ઉદારતા ભરેલું સ્વાગત કર્યું છે, આવો ભવ્ય મેળાવડો કર્યો છે એટલે મ્હારે બે બોલ કહેવા જોઇએ એવી એમની માંગણીનો હું અનાદર કરું એ વ્યાજબી ન કહેવાય—અને એમનીજ ટેબલ ઉપર બેસીને તો એમની માંગણીનો અનાદર નજ થાય (હસાહસ).

મ્હારાં હૃદયની વાત તો પ્રાણલાલભાઇએ પોતાનાં ભાષણમાંજ કહી સંભળાવી છે. દુનિયાં આખીના જે સ્વતંત્ર મુલકો છે, તેમને જો પોતાની એવી થોડી પણ જગ્યા દરિયાને કાંઠે ન હોય તો કોઇપણ બ્હાનાં કહાડીને, કોરિડોર કે એવાં બ્હાનાં કહાડીને પણ, દરિયા કાંઠે બ્હાનો ટુકડો અને ત્યાં પોતાનું બંદર શોધવા એ બધા મંડી પડે છે. એમાં શું ખુબી હશે? એ શોધનું શું કારણ હશે? કરોડોનો ભોગ આપીને, જરૂર પડે તો હજારો લાખો માણસોના જાન આપીને પણ તેઓ દરિયા કાંઠે પોતાની સ્વતંત્ર જમીન લેવા તૈયાર થાય છે. એની પાછળ જે વસ્તુ છે, તે એજ છે, કે આજના જગતમાં જે કોઈ દેશ વેપાર કરવા ઇચ્છતો હોય, તો તેને પોતાનાં સ્વતંત્ર બંદરની જરૂર છે.

આપણા દેશની ત્રણે બાજુયે તો મહાસાગર પડયો છે. એક ચતુર્થાંશ જેટલોજ ભાગ ખાડોનો છે. જે મુલકનો ત્રણ ભાગ જેટલો હિસ્સો પાણી ઉપર હોય તેને પોતાની કહી શકે એવી એક ખુણા જેટલી, કોરીડોર જેટલી પણ જગ્યા ન હોય, એ સ્થિતિ કેમ સાંખી રહેવાય?

આપણો દરિયો હિન્દી મહાસાગર કહેવાય છે ખરો! પણ એ દરિયો આપણો, હિન્દનો નથી. આપણો તો દેશ અને દરિયો બેય ગિરો મુકાઈ ગયાં છે, એમાં આપણું કંઈ છેજ નહિ. આપણાજ આ મુલકના દરિયાને આપણો કહેવડાવવાની લડતનો મહાન ઇતિહાસ જોવો હોય તો સિન્ધિયા કંપનીનો ઇતિહાસ જોઈ લેવો. હિન્દનો સાગર કાંઠો ઘેર લાવવાની સિંધિયાની લડત ઉજ્જવલ છે. આ મુલક જો સ્વતંત્ર હોય તો સિન્ધિયાનો મેનેજીંગ ડાયરેકટર, લોર્ડ ઇન્ચકેપ જેવાને તો ખીસામાં નાંખીને ફરે એટલી આપણામાં શક્તિ છે, બુદ્ધિ છે અને સાહસ છે. પણ આપણી પાસે સ્વતંત્રતા નથી, એટલે સિન્ધિયા જેવી કંપનીને

ન્હાનામાં ન્હાની વસ્તુ માટે કેવો જંગી મુકાબલો કરવો પડે છે એતો તમે એનો ઇતિહાસ સાંભળો તોજ તમને ખબર પડે. હિન્દુસ્થાન કંઈપણ માંગે એટલે એની સ્હામે બ્રિટિશો સેફગાર્ડ માગવા નીકળે છે. સિન્ધિયા કઈ માગવાની વાત કરે એટલે બ્રિટિશ કંપનીયો પોતાને માટે સલામતિયો માગવા નીકળી પડે છે, એ તો વાઘ, બકરી સ્હામે સલામતી માગતો હોય, રાક્ષસ હોય તે વ્હેંતિયા સ્હામે સલામતી માગતો હોય એવું છે.

બ્રિટનના બે ચાર જહાજો રોજને રોજ મહાસાગરને તળીયે પ્હોંચ્યાં જાય છે. પણ તેની બ્રિટનને દરકાર નથી, કારણ બ્રિટનને મગરૂરી છે કે બ્રિટન તો દરિયાની રાણી છે, Britannia rules the waves, દરિયાનાં મોજાંઓ પણ બ્રિટનની હકુમતમાં છે. આપણો ઇતિહાસ તો રાજા રાવણના વખતથી રાડ પાડતો આવ્યો છે કે જે મગરૂબી કરે એનો નાશ થાય છે.

આપણી પાસે લડવાનાં સાધન નથી, અને આપણે કોઈ સાથે લડવું પણ નથી. આપણે તો આપણી ગુમ થયેલી વસ્તુ પાછી મેળવવી છે. આપણો ગુમ થયેલો વેપાર, આપણું ગુમ થયેલું વ્હાણવટું પાછું મેળવવાનું છે. અત્યારે તો આપણે હવામાં બાચકા ભરિયે છિયે, ધુમાડો પકડવાને મથિયે છિયે, આપણી પાસે ખરી વસ્તુ નથી, એ તો આપણા હાથમાંથી ચાલી ગઈ છે. જ્યાં સુધી આપણે બધા એકત્ર ન થઇયે ત્યાં સુધી એ વસ્તુ પાછી હાથ લાગવાની નથી. આપણને આપણો વેપાર પાછો મેળવવાનો છે અને વેપાર તો વાવટા પછવાડે જાય છે. ગમે ત્યાં જાઓ પણ તમે હિન્દુસ્થાનનો વાવટો નહિ દેખો, તો વેપાર તો કયાંથીજ જોઇ શકો?

આજે તો સિન્ધિયા મથામણ કરી રહી છે. મ્હેં તો વાલચન્દભાઇને સિન્ધિયાનું મકાન ખુલ્લું મુકાયું ત્યારેજ મુબારકબાદી આપી છે. તમે આજે મુબારકબાદી આપો છો. ફરી, શિપબિલ્ડીંગ યાર્ડ બંધાશે ત્યારે આપણે ફરી મુબારકબાદી આપશું પણ જ્યારે સિન્ધિયાની સ્ટીમરો સાતે સાગરમાં ફરતી થઈ જશે ત્યારે સાચ્ચી મુબારકબાદી આપશું. એ કામ અઘરૂં નથી, માત્ર દેખાય છે મ્હોટું.

જગત તો આજે મહાસાગરમાં ડોલે ચ્હડયું છે કયારે રસાતાળ જશે એ કહી શકાય તેમ નથી. દુનિયા આજે પ્હાડની ધાર ઉપર ટીંગાઇ રહી છે; કયારે ખીણને તળીયે પડીને ભૂકા ઉડશે એ કોણ કહી શકે એમ છે. લડાઇનું પરિણામ શું આવશે એ કોઇ કહી શકે એમ નથી. બ્રિટનની મગરૂબીને આજે હિન્દ પડકારી રહયું છે. મગરૂબોને તો ઇશ્વર પોતાનું સ્થાન બતાવી દે છે.

હિન્દુસ્થાનની તો દરેક વ્યકિત વિશ્વબંધુત્વમાં માને છે. એને કોઇ ઉપર આક્રમણ કરવું નથી, પણ ઘર તો જરૂર સાચવવું છે. ઘરનો વેપાર અને ઘરનું વ્હાણવટું પણ ન સાચવી શકિયે તો તો આપણે આ ધરતી ઉપર જીવતા રહેવાને પણ નાલાયક ઠરિયે.

આ અઠવાડિયું મુંબઈમાં મેળાવડાનુંજ છે. ભાષણો પણ થાય છે. કેટલાંક તો 'ન બોલવામાં નવ ગુણ' એ વિષય ઉપરજ ભાષણો થયાં છે. આપણને કંઇ પારકા મુલકમાં જઇને ભાષણો કરવાં નથી. આપણે બોલીયે નહિ પણ આપણે ભૂલીયે પણ નહિજ. જો ભૂલીયે તો તો આપણા માટે દરિયામાં જઇને ડુબી મરવુંજ સારૂં છે. દુનિયામાં જે થઈ રહ્યું છે તે મુંગા મુંગા જોયા કરીયે એ હવે બને એમ નથી. મુલક ઉપર જે દિલના ઘા પડયા છે તે કેમ કરીને ભૂલીયે? હવે તો હિન્દે મહાસાગર ઉપર પોતાનું સ્થાન મેળવી લેવું છે અને એ માટે લડવું પડશે. સિન્ધિયા કંપની હજુ તો ઉગતી અવસ્થામાં છે. એ ઝપાટાબંધ ડુલે અને ફાલે, એને ઉત્તેજન આપિયે, એજ એની સલામતી, સેફગાર્ડઝ છે. જેને મુલકના સેફગાર્ડઝ નથી, તેને કોઇનો સેફગાર્ડ નથી એ હવે બધા સ્હમજી લે.

સ્હમે સહુ મુંબઇના નગરજનો, વેપારીયો—આ નગરીનું 'ક્રીમ' છો. અહિં આજે વાલચન્દભાઇને મુબારકબાદી આપવા ભેગા થયા છો—સિંધિઆના સરનશીનને ધન્યવાદ આપો છો એ પ્રસંગ શું સૂચવે છે? એ સૂચવે છે કે દેશનાં સ્વતંત્ર વ્હાણવટાંની કેટલી જરૂર છે તે સ્હમે બરાબર સ્હમજી ગયા છો. તો હવે જેને અમારા કાંઠા ઉપરથી આઘા પાછા થવું હોય તે જલદી આઘા પાછા થઇ જાય એમાંજ એને ફાયદો છે. અમને રસ્તો કરી આપે એમાંજ એમનું ભલું થવાનું છે. નહિતો અમને અમારૂં લઈ લેતાં આવડશે એમાં કોઈ જાતનો શક નથી, એટલેજ આજનો મેળાવડો મ્હને તો ઘણોજ અર્થ સૂચક લાગ્યો છે.

શેઠ વાલચંદ હીરાચંદે જવાબમાં નીચેનું ભાષણ કર્યું હતું:—

પ્રાણલાલભાઈ, સરદાર વલ્લભભાઈ અને મિત્રો,

રાષ્ટ્રીય વ્હાણવટાંની જે સેવા કરી શકવાનું મ્હને સદભાગ્ય પ્રાપ્ત થયું છે, તે માટે મુબારકબાદી આપવા માટે, તમે સહુ ભાઇયોએ આજે આ ભવ્ય મેળાવડામાં મ્હને જે આવકાર આપ્યો છે, અને એ રીતે મ્હને જે માન આપ્યું છે, તે માટે હું તમ્હારા સહુનો આભાર માનું છું. ખાસ તો, પ્રાણલાલભાઈ, તમે પ્રશંસાનો મ્હારા ઉપર જે વર્ષાવ કર્યો છે તેથી મ્હારાં અન્તઃકરણમાં હું ઉંડી લાગણી અનુભવી રહયો છું. આવાં ઉર્મિભર્યાં માન અને વખાણ, તમે વાલચન્દને નહિ પરંતુ રાષ્ટ્રીય વ્હાણવટાંનાં પ્રાણ જેવી બની રહેલી સિન્ધિયા કંપનીયે જે કામ કરી બતાવ્યું છે તેનેજ અર્પિ રહ્યા છો, એ હું સારી પેઠે સમજી શકું છું.

હાથ ધરેલાં અનેક કાર્યોમાં સિદ્ધિ મેળવવાનું મ્હને સદભાગ્ય પ્રાપ્ત થયું છે, એમ મ્હને લાગે છે. પરંતુ જે રાષ્ટ્રીય વ્હાણવટાનાં હું માતબર સ્વપ્નાંઓ સેવી રહયો છું તેવાં વ્હાણવટાંના વિકાસની સાધનામાં મ્હને નિષ્ફળતા મળી છે એ વિચાર મ્હને ઘણીયેવાર ઉંડી નિરાશા ઉપજાવી રહે છે. જે કામ રાતદિવસ મ્હારાં દિલમાં વસી રહયું છે તે કામમાં પ્રોત્સાહન આપવા માટે મ્હારા દેશબન્ધુઓનું આવું ગૌરવભર્યું સંમેલન જોઈ હું એક પ્રકારનો દિલાસો અને સંતોષ અનુભવી રહયો છું. સ્વાભાવિક રીતે તમ્હને જીજ્ઞાસા થશેજ કે મ્હારાં સ્વપ્નાનું એ રાષ્ટ્રીય વ્હાણવટું કેવું હશે? એ સ્વપ્નાંઓ સાચ્ચાં કરી દેખાડવામાં મ્હને નિષ્ફળતા શા માટે મળી છે એનાં કારણો તમે જાણવા ઇચ્છો, એ પણ એટલુંજ સ્વાભાવિકજ છે.

દુનિયાની ચારે દિશામાં હિન્દુસ્થાનનો વેપાર હિન્દી વ્હાણોવડેજ ચાલતો થઈ જાય એમ જોવા હું ઇચ્છું છે. એ વ્હાણોઉપર હિન્દીવાનોનોજ કાબુ હોય, અને એનો વહિવટ હિન્દીવાનોજ કરે, એમ જોવાને હું આતુર બની રહયો છું. એ વ્હાણોઉપર મ્હારાજ દેશબંધુઓ અમલદાર બનીને રહે એમ હું જોવા માગું છું. આ દેશના દરિયામાં, આપણા હકકનીરૂપે, આપણાં વ્હાણવટાંનોજ ઝંડો ફરકી રહે એ જોવા હું અધીરો બની રહયો છું. "વિકટોરિયા" અને "નોરમન્ડિ" ને આંટી જાય એવી દેશી સ્ટીમરોમાં, મ્હારા દેશબંધુઓને, દુનિયાનાં બંદરોમા હું લઈ જઈ શકું, એ દિવસ માટે હું ઝંખી રહયો છું. આવી સ્ટીમરો હિન્દુસ્થાનનાંજ કારખાનાઓમાં બંધાતી થઈ જાય એવા મંગલદિનનાં મ્હને સ્વપ્નાં આવે છે. શાંતિના સમયમાં હિન્દુસ્થાનના વેપારનાં સંરક્ષણને સંગીન અને સલામત બનાવે એવું વ્હાણવટું દેશની આર્થિક આબાદીનું સબલ સાધન બની રહે એવું વ્હાણવટું, દેશભરમાં વિકસી રહે એ જોવાને હું તલસી રહયો છું. જે પૂર્ણસ્વરાજ્ય માટે, જે આઝાદી માટે, તમે, હું અને દરેક હિન્દી, વર્ષો થયાં અધીરા બની રહયા છિયે, તલપી રહયા છિયે, તે આઝાદીનો દિવસ, તોજ

વહેલો ઉદિત થશે, જ્યે દેશ પાસે આવું સંપૂર્ણ વિકાસ પામેલું દેશી વહાણવટું હશે આ મ્હારાં સ્વપ્નાં! વાસ્તવિક પરિસ્થિતિ અને આ સ્વપ્નાંઓ વચ્ચે જે મહાન અન્તર છે તે તો તમે સહુ જાણોજ છો. એવો અન્તર હોવાનું કારણ શું છે? જવાબ એકજ છે, આપણે પરતંત્ર પ્રજા છિયે.

મ્હારા મિત્રો કહે છે કે "વાલચંદ તમે હઠીલા છો લીધેલી હઠને વળગી રહો છો, એમાં જરા પણ લે મુક નથી કરતા." ખરેખર શું હું મ્હારા હઠને નભાવી શકું છું? કે નભાવી શકયો છું? એ હઠીલા વાલચંદને અનેક વાર, ન્હોતરૂં મળે કે ન મળે તો પણ, કલકત્તા ને દિલ્હી તો શું, પણ લન્ડન સુધી દોડધામ કરવી પડે છે—કારણ પોતાનીજ સરકાર હોય એવા સ્વતંત્ર દેશોમાં જે વસ્તુ જન્મસિદ્ધ હકકની રૂયે સહેજ મળી રહે છે, તે વસ્તુ આ દેશનાં વ્હાણવટાં માટે મ્હારે હજુ મેળવવાની રહી છે.

દરિયાપારના મ્હારા હિતેચ્છુઓ વારંવાર મ્હને યાદ આપ્યા કરે છે કે "વાલચંદ, હિન્દુસ્થાનને આર્થિક સ્વરાજ્ય તો મળી ગયું છે;" અને કહે છે કે ઈગ્લંન્ડે હિન્દુસ્થાનને 'ડિસક્રિમિનટિંગ પ્રોટેકશન' નું વરદાન આપી દીધું છે. એના ઉપર પોતાના હુન્નર ઉદ્યોગનુ વિવેકપુરસ્સર સંરક્ષણ કરવાના હકકની નવાજેશ કરી છે." સંરક્ષણ કોનું? અને કોના લાભ માટે એજ સવાલ છે. આસપાસ આગળ પાછળ હું જોઈ વળું છું, મ્હારાં વ્હાણવટાંના ઉદ્યોગ માટે સંરક્ષણને શોધી રહયો શું, પણ મને છું દેખાય છે? સંરક્ષણ તો નથી દેખાતું; દેખાય છે માત્ર ગુલામી. આ 'વિવેકપુરસ્સરનું સંરક્ષણ,' મનવગરના દિલાસા જેવું આ સંરક્ષણ, કોઈવાર તો આપણા ઉદ્યોગને આડે આવતું આ સંરક્ષણ, હંમેશા વિનાશની ઘડીની યાદ આપતું આ સંરક્ષણ, બ્રિટને હિન્દુસ્થાનને આપેલું આ વરદાન, એનું રડયુખડયું સમાધાન પણ મ્હારા વ્હાણવટાના ઉદ્યોગ માટે તો નથીજ. અગર જાણ્યે અજાણ્યે પણ જો સરકાર આ સંરક્ષણ વ્હાણવટાના ઉદ્યોગને આપવાની ભૂલ કરી નાંખે તો પણ, આજનાં બંધારણની રૂયે તો, જ્યારે જ્યારે હિન્દુસ્થાનના વ્હાણવટાંને મદદ આપવાની હોય ત્યારે ત્યારે પરદેશી વ્હાણવટાંને તેવીજ અને તેટલીજ મદદ અપાવી જોઇએ એમ કાનૂન જારી કરવામાં આવ્યો છે. જ્યારે જ્યારે ભૂખેમરી રહેલી બકરીને પાલો નીરવો હોય ત્યારે ત્યારે વાઘનેપણ—એનું પેટ ફાટફાટ થાય છે છતાં—એ વાઘને પણ ફરજીયાત ખોરાક આપવોજ જોઇયે, એમ નવાં બંધારણે કાનુન જારી કર્યો છે. પરિણામે વાઘને પડખે રહેવાને બદલે એક દહાડો એ બિચારી બકરીનો વાઘની હોજરીમાંજ મોક્ષ થવાનો એ દેખીતુંજ છે. વ્હાણવટાંના ઉદ્યોગ માટે આવાં આર્થિક સ્વરાજ્યનું આજે નિર્માણ થઇ ચુકયું છે. આવાં સ્વરાજ્યનો હું ઈન્કાર કરૂં એટલે લોકો કહે છે કે વાલચંદ હઠીલો છે, એનામાં 'જીવવાની અને જીવવા દેવાની' જીસસે ઉપદેશેલી નમ્રવૃત્તિ નથી. હું બીજું શું કરી શકું? મ્હારે તો મ્હારા દેશ પ્રત્યેનો, મ્હારાં ધ્યેય પ્રત્યેનો ધર્મ સાચવવો છે, એટલે મ્હારે તો આગ્રહી બનવુંજ રહ્યું.

કેટલાક મ્હારા ભલા મિત્રો, કુતૂહલથી મ્હને કોઇવાર પુછે છે કે "વાલચન્દ, એ વાત ખરી છે કે લોર્ડ ઈન્ચકેપ પાસે બી. આઇ. કંપની ખરીદી લેવાની દરખાસ્ત મુકવા જેટલું તમે

ધાડસ કર્યું હતું? જ્યારે તમે આ માંગણી કરી ત્યારે તમારા ગજવામાં પાવલી પણ ન હતી એ વાત ખરી છે?"

મિત્રોના આ સવાલનો જવાબ આપતાં હું કહું છું કે તે વખતે મ્હારાં ગજવામાં રાતી પાઇ પણ હતી કે નહિ, એ તો મ્હને સાંભરતું નથી, પરન્તુ બીજાઓની પેઠે આ મિત્રોને પણ સાવધાન કરવા હું ઉમેરૂં છું કે મ્હારી પાસે હતો તે મ્હારા દેશનો જન્મસિદ્ધ હક્ક, મ્હારીપાસે હતી મારી માંગણીની અદલ ઈન્સાફી, અને હતું મારા દાવાનું વ્યાજબીપણું આઝાદી મેળવવા માટે આતુર બનેલા, અધીરા બનેલા મ્હારા દેશની તમન્નાનાં જોશદાર પુરનો અણનમ જુસ્સો મ્હને પીઠબળ આપી રહ્યો હતો અને આજે પણ એજ હકક, એજ ઈન્સાફ, એજ દાવો, અને એજ જુસ્સો મ્હારી કુમકે સાબૂત ખડાં છે. એમ કહીને હું બધાને સાવધાન કરતો આવ્યો છું અને આજે ફરી સાવધાન કરૂં છું કે મ્હારાં આ કથનને રખે કોઈ સહજ વાક્ય સ્હમજવાની ભૂલ કરે. આ કહું છું તે જોને સાવધાન થવું હોય તેને વેળાસર સાવધાન થવાની ગંભીરમાં ગંભીર ચેતવણી રૂપે કહું છું. મ્હારા દેશમાં મ્હને જે વિશ્વાસ છે અને મ્હારા હકકમાં મ્હને જે શ્રદ્ધા છે તેથીજ કોઇવાર હું એવી વાતો કરૂં છું કે એવાં પગલાં અંગીકાર કરૂં છું કે જે, "જીવો અને જીવવા દ્યો" ની ફિલસુફી ડહોળનારાઓ સમજી પણ નથી શકતા, તો એનું અનુકરણ તો કયાંથીજ કરી શકે! લોર્ડ ઈન્ચકેપ પાસે ત્યારે મ્હેં જે માંગણી કરી હતી, તેજ માંગણી મ્હેં એની પાછળ આવનારાઓ પાસે પણ કરી છે અને આજે ફરીથી કરી રહ્યો છું. મ્હને આશા છે કે જેઓ મ્હને સામ્રાજ્યમાંના બાન્ધવ તરીકે કોઇવાર ગણવા માગે છે તેઓ ડહાપણથી વેળાસર સ્હમજતા થઇ જાય કે હિન્દુસ્થાનને એના હકક આપવામાં અને હિન્દુસ્થાનનાં વાલચન્દ્રોને ખરેખરા ભાઈબિંધ બનાવી લેવામાંજ એઓનું હિત સમાયું છે—પછી એ ભાઈબિંધી સામ્રાજ્યમાં હોય કે સામ્રાજ્યની બ્હાર હોય.

આ દેશમાં પરદેશીયોએ જે અડ્ડા જમાવી મુકયા છે તેના તરફથી ઉધારી વકીલાત કરનારાઓ વારંવાર આપણને યાદ અપાવે છે કે આ પરદેશીયોએજ આ દેશનો વેપાર જમાવ્યો છે અને પછી જાણે આપણે કંઈ અણઘટતી માંગણી કરી હોય એવો દેખાવ કરીને આપણને પુછે છે કે એ બધી જમાવટ હવે હિન્દીઓને સુપ્રત કરી દેવાની વાત આપણે કેમ કરી શકિયે? કેટલાક વળી વધારે જોશમાં આવીને મ્હને ઠપકો આપીને કહે છે કે "વાલચંદ, આપણી નેક અને અદલ સરકારે આપણાં ઉપર જે 'કમર્શિયલ સેફ ગાર્ડસ'—વેપારી સલામતીયોની નવી જંજીરો લાદી છે તેની જુમ્મેદારી તમારે સર છે કારણ તમે રાષ્ટ્રીય વેપારી વહાણવટાંની ઉભારણી કરવા માટે જે ચળવળ કરી તેથીજ આવી કપરી બેડીઓ હિન્દુસ્થાન ઉપર ઠોકવામાં આવી છે." મિત્રો, તમે તો જાણોજ છો કે છેલ્લી લડાઇને પરિણામે આત્મનિર્ણયના સિદ્ધાન્તને દુનિયા ઓળખતી થઈ. એ સિદ્ધાન્તનો અમલ કરાવવા માટે આ ચાલુ યુદ્ધ, લડવામાં આવે છે એમ કહેવાય છે. તો આ ઉધારી વકીલાત કરનારાઓને અને જોશમાં આવી જઇને મ્હેને બદનામ કરનારાઓને હું એક સવાલ પુછવા માંગું છું. પ્રજાને તરવારથી જીતી છે એમ દાવો કરનારાઓ, જો એ હારેલી પ્રજાના હકકો ઝુંટવી લે, એવી હીણપત નીચે કચરાતી પ્રજા ઉપર જીવનની દરેક દિશામાં હકુમતનો કોયડો ફેરવી દે અને એ રીતે જ્યારે,

વતન માટે મરી ફીટનાર એ પ્રજાનાં દિલમાં દૈન્યનાં શલ્ય ભોંકાઈ રહ્યાં હોય, તે પ્રજા જો ઇતર સાધારણ દશામાં જેનો વિકાસ સાધી, સહજ સાધ્ય હોય એવી પોતાનીજ વસ્તુ ફરી મેળવવાનો પ્રયત્ન કરે, તો શું તે સ્વાભાવિક નથી? શું તે ગેરવ્યાજબી છે? આ સવાલની પરીક્ષા એજ કસોટીયે કરવાની છે. હિન્દુસ્થાનનું વહાણવટું તો ગુમાવેલી વસ્તુ પાછી મેળવવાને મથી રહ્યું છે; એ માટે જહેમત ભરેલી કોશેશ ઉઠાવી રહયું છે. જેમ આપણા રાજકારણમાં દેશનેતાઓએ અડગ નિરધાર કર્યો છે કે દેશને આત્મનિર્ણયનો હકક ન મળે ત્યાં સુધી પાછી પ્હાની નજ કરવી, તેમજ અમ્હે, જે આ દેશના ઉદ્યોગોનો વિકાસ સાધવાને મથી રહ્યા છિયે, તેણે પણ અડગ નિરધાર કર્યો છે કે સલ્તનતીઓની પરવાહ કર્યા વગર, અમ્હારી નિર્બન્ધ અને સ્વતંત્ર રીતે, અમ્હારાજ દેશમાં, અમ્હારા ઉદ્યોગોનો વિકાસ થઇ શકે એવી દરેક સગવડ, એવું દરેક પ્રકારનું પ્રોત્સાહન અમને ન મળે ત્યાં સુધી અમ્હે પણ અમ્હારી લડત ચાલુજ રાખિશું.

મ્હારા મિત્રો કોઈ વાર એક બીજું પાપ પણ મ્હારે પદરે બાંધી રહયા છે. મ્હને કહે છે કે "વાલચંદ, તમેજ બધી રીતે ખલનાયક બની રહયા છો. હિન્દુસ્થાનથી બરમા પ્રાન્તને જુદો કરવામાં આવ્યો તે પણ તમારાજ પાપે!" આ પાપની જુમ્મેદારી મ્હારા સર પર કેમ હોઈ શકે એ હું જાણતો નથી, પણ એ વિષે તમને હું એક વાત કહી લઉ. જ્યારે નુરની લડાઇ ચાલી રહી હતી, એટલે પરદેશી પેઢીયો જ્યારે ગુપ્ત રીતે પણ ભયંકર સ્વરૂપમાં નુરની લડાઈ ચલાવી રહયા હતા, ત્યારે તે કાળનાં હિન્દુસ્થાન માટેના, લન્ડન ખાતેના હાઈ કમિશનર, સર ભૂપેન્દ્રનાથ મિત્રને મ્હેં વિનન્તિ કરી કે તમે તમારા ઓહ્દાનો અને તમારી લાગવગનો ઉપયોગ કરો અને આ અમ્હારા ધરના દરિયામાં શાંતિ સ્થપાય એવું કરવા લોર્ડ ઇન્ચકેપને સમજાવો. ગૃહસ્થો, તે પ્રસંગે લોર્ડ ઇન્ચકેપે શો જવાબ આપ્યો હતો એ તમે જાણો છો? સર ભૂપેનને સ્હામેથી સલાહ આપતાં લોર્ડ ઇન્ચકેપ બહાદુરે ફરમાવ્યું કે તમે તમારા દોસ્ત વાલચંદને કહો કે એ જાતેજ મ્હારી પાસે આવે અને સુલેહને માટે જે કંઈ અરજ ગુજારવાની હોય તે રૂબરૂમાં પેશ કરે—પરંતુ તે હુમણાં નહિ, પણ બરમા હિન્દુસ્થાનથી છુટું થઇ જાય પછીજ; ત્યાં સુધી જે ચાલે છે તે ચુપકીદીથી બરદાસ્ત કરી લેવાનું એને કહી દેજો. હિન્દુસ્થાન દેશથી બરમા પ્રાન્તને છુટો કરાવવાની જુમ્મેદારી કોના શિર ઉપર છે એનો નિકાલ કરવાનું, મિત્રો હવે તમારી બુદ્ધિ ઉપરજ હું છોડી દઉં છું.

થોડાક મહિના ઉપર ઇમ્પિરિયલ શિપિંગ કમીટીનો અગત્યનો એક રિપોર્ટ બ્હાર પડયો છે. એમાં સિન્ધિયા કંપનીના તેજસ્વી કારભાર વિષે વખાણના એક બે શબ્દો પણ કહેવામાં આવ્યા છે; પોતાનું દેશી વ્હાણવટું વિકસાવવાની આ દેશની જે આકાંક્ષા છે તે તરફ એમાં સહાનુભુતિ પણ દર્શાવવામાં આવી છે. અહિં અડોડા જમાવી પડેલી બ્રિટિશ વહાણવટાંની કંપનીયોને એ રિપોર્ટે ભલામણ કરી છે કે તમેણે હિન્દુસ્થાનનાં વહાણવટાં તરફની પોતાની વર્તણુક બદલવી જોઇયે, એની સાથે સહકાર કરવો જોઇએ, એને પોતાની આકાંક્ષા પુરી કરવાના કામમાં મદદ કરવી જોઇએ. એ કમીટી એવા નિર્ણય ઉપર આવી છે કે સલ્તનતના દરેક દેશમાં, પોતાના દરિયાઈ વેપારને અનુરૂપ એવું દેશી વેપારી વહાણવટું

હોવુંજ જોઇએ. જેમના હાથમાં હિન્દુસ્થાનનું ભાવિ ઘડવાનું અને તોડવાનું સામર્થ્ય છે એવા, હિન્દૂસ્થાનના અને હિન્દુસ્થાનની બ્હારના સત્તાધારીયોના મન ઉપર આ રિપોર્ટનું કેવું પરિણામ આવ્યું છે તે પણ હું જાણું છું. આપણી વ્યાજબી આકાંક્ષાઓની વિરૂદ્ધ જાય એવું એ પરિણામ છે. તરફેણમાં કંઇ પરિણામ થયું હોય એવુ કોઇપણ ચિન્હ હજુ સુધી હું જોઇ શકયો નથી બ્રિટિશ કોમનવેલ્થ ઑફ નેશન્સ, એટલે બ્રિટનની સલ્તનતમાં હિસ્સેદાર બનેલા દેશમાં વ્હાણવટાંની આબાદ જમાવટ થઈ રહે એ જોવા ઇમ્પિરિયલ શિપિંગ કમીટી ઈન્તેજાર છે, કારણ પૂર્વનાં પાણીમાં ઇતરદેશીય વ્હાણવટાંની બડતી બરકત સ્હામે, અને એના તરફથી એ બાજુનો વેપાર હાથ કરવાની જે સફળ કોશેશો થઇ રહી છે એની સ્હામે, સલ્તનતનું વ્હાણવટું સંગીન રીતે મુકાબલો કરી શકે એ જરૂરનું છે. પણ એમાં હિન્દુસ્થાનનું શું? હિન્દુસ્થાનનાં દેશી વ્હાણવટાનું શું? આપણી સરકાર તો કહે છે કે હિન્દી વ્હાણવટું તો સલ્તનતનાં વ્હાણવટાંમાં સમાઈ જાય છે. બેલાશક, સિંહ અને બકરીનો પણ એવોજ સમાવેશ થઇ જાય છે, માત્ર બકરી સિંહની ગેાદમાં નહિ પણ એની હોજરીમાં સમાઈ જાય છે. આપણને તો બ્રિટિશ વ્હાણવટાંથી સદંતર નીરાળું એવું હિન્દી વ્હાણવટું જોઇયે છે; હિન્દીવાનોની માલીકીનું, હિન્દીવાનોની હકુમતવાળું અને હિન્દીવાનોના કારોબાર-વાળું વ્હાણવટું જોઇયે છે. જેઓ પાસે હિન્દુસ્થાનની આગે કુચમાં મદદ કરી શકવાની સત્તા છે એ સત્તાધારીઓને ઇમ્પિરિયલ શિપિંગ કમીટી જેવી વગદાર કમીટીયે કરેલી આ અતિ ઓછી શિફારસનો ગંભીર ખ્યાલ કરવાનું કહિયે તો, તેમાં આપણે બહુ મ્હોટી માંગણી તો નથીજ કરતા, ખરૂંને?

કેટલાક સમભાવિ મિત્રો મ્હને સલાહ આપે છે કે "વાલચન્દ, જરા ધીમે ધીમે આગળ વધો. હાલ યુદ્ધ ચાલી રહયું છે. હાલ જે છે તેમાંજ સંતોષ માનીને બેશી રહો લડાઇ પુરી થશે પછી બધાં સારાં વાનાંજ થશે." હું ભવિષ્ય ભાખનારો જ્યોતિષી તો નથી. પણ ગઈ લડાઈ વખતે મ્હારી ઉમર એટલી તો જરૂર હતી જ્યારે હું ખરૂં ખોટું સહમજી શકું. તે વખતે જે જે વચનો આપવામાં આવ્યાં હતાં, તે મ્હને બરાબર યાદ છે. એ દીવા પછવાડે કેવું અંધારૂં આવ્યું એ પણ મ્હને બરાબર યાદ છે. આ લડાઇનો અન્ત ક્યારે આવશે એ હું નથી જાણતો. સુલેહની સાથે હિન્દુસ્થાન માટે નવા હકકોની નવાજેશ આવશે કે નવી નવી જંજીરોનું ભારણ આવશે એ પણ હું નથી જાણતો. કાળની અને સાગરની ભરતી કોઇ માટે પોતાના વેગ નથી રોકતી. હિન્દી મહાસાગરની ભરતીયો પણ આ સામાન્ય નિયમનો અપવાદ નથીજ કરતી. હિન્દુસ્થાનને પોતાના વેપારનો બચાવ કરવાનો છે. હિન્દુસ્થાનને પોતાના કિનારાનું સંરક્ષણ કરવાનું છે. બ્રિટિશ વ્હાણવટું પાછળ હઠી રહ્યું છે. આ લડાઇમાં જે દેશો ભાગ નથી લેતા તેવા દેશોના વ્હાણવટાંની એને મદદ લેવી પડે છે. હિન્દી વ્હાણવટું આજે એના તરફ દોસ્તીનો હાથ આગળ કરે છે, એની સાથે એ હાથ મિલાવવાને તૈયાર છે. હિન્દી વ્હાણવટાને ઉત્તેજન આપવાનો, એને સહાય આપવાનો હિન્દી વ્હાણો બાંધવાનાં કારખાનાંઓ ઉભાં કરવામાં મદદ આપવાનો શું આ અનુકૂળ વખત નથી? પોતાના વેપાર અને કિનારાનોજ નહિ પણ આ વસમી ઘડીયે ખુદ બ્રિટનનો પણ બચાવ કરી શકે એવી શકિત હિન્દુસ્થાનને આપવા માટે શું આ યોગ્ય વખત નથી? "ધીમે ધીમે

આગળ વધવાની" મ્હને સલાહ આપવા નીકળેલા મ્હારા એ સમભાવી મિત્રોને નમ્રતા પૂર્વક એટલુંજ કહેવાનું રહે છે કે મ્હારી હિમ્મતનો અને મ્હારી કલ્પકવૃત્તિનો અંશ તમ્હને સાદર કરું છું તે સ્વીકારી લ્યો, તો તમ્હે ને હું રાષ્ટ્રીય વ્હાણવટાનો વિકાસ સાધવા માટે એકકદમ આગળ વધી રહિયે. એમને મ્હારે યાદ અપાવવું રહે જ્યારે દરેક રાષ્ટ્રીય સરકાર પોતાનાં રાષ્ટ્રીય વ્હાણવટાંને શાંતિના સમયમાં દરેક સહાય આપવાનો પોતાનો ધર્મ સમજે છે, ત્યારે યુદ્ધના સમયમાં તો રાષ્ટ્રીય વ્હાણ વિકાસ કરવાની ફરજને એ રાષ્ટ્રીય સરકારો આલા દરજ્જાની ફરજ તરીકે બજા કર દેશનું પ્રથમ હિત સમજે છે. આ વાત ઉપર મ્હારા એ મિત્રોનું હું ખાસ ધ્યાન માંગુ છું. આજના રાષ્ટ્રીયવાદના સર્વમાન્ય ધોરણની નજરે જો હિન્દુસ્થાન દુનિયાના સ્વતંત્ર દેશોની હરોળમાં પોતાનું સ્થાન લેવા માગતું હોય, તો એની સરકારે પણ રાષ્ટ્રીય સરકારો પેઠેજ રાષ્ટ્રીય વ્હાણવટાંનો વિકાસ સાધવાના પગલાં લેવાંજ પડશે.

મ્હારા ઉપર આરોપ મુકવામાં આવ્યો છે કે જ્યારે મ્હારા મિત્રો મ્હને મળવા આ ત્યારે હું પોતેજ બોલવાને હક્ક જાળવી રાખીને તેમને કેવળ શ્રોતા બનાવી મુકું છું. અહિયાં પણ મ્હેં એમજ કરવાનો ગુન્હો કર્યો છે. પણ હવે તમ્હને વધારે ખોટી આપણા માયાળુ યજમાને તમ્હને જે માતબર વાનીઓ જમાડી છે તે પચાવવાનું નહિ બનાવું. માત્ર આ દેશના વ્હાણવટાંના ઉદ્યોગના પ્રતિનિધિ સ્વરૂપે મ્હારો જે ભરેલો સત્કાર તમ્હે કર્યો છે તે માટે તમ્હારા સહુનો હું ફરી આભાર માનું છું. આ મહાન ભવ્ય સંમેલન કહી આપે છે કે રાષ્ટ્રીય વ્હાણવટા માટેની દેશની માંગણીને દેશનું પીઠબળ છે. મ્હારી ભાવી લડતને, આજે તમે નવો જુસ્સો અને નવું ચેતન અર હું જે ધ્યેયને માટે લડી રહ્યો છું તેને અને એના પ્રતિનિધિ સ્વરૂપે મ્હને, ઉ સત્કાર આપવાને તમ્હે કરેલું આ સંમેલન, પોતાનો પરિણામકારક સંદેશો, જ્યાં પ્હોંચ ત્યાં પ્હોંચાડશે એમ હું આશા રાખું છું, અને દેશનું તંત્ર ચલાવનારની આંખ ઉઘા કે દેશના અવાજ તરફ બ્હેરા બનવામાં ડહાપણ નથી, પણ પ્રજાના આદેશને માથે લેવામાંજ ખરું ડહાપણ સમાયું છે. ગૃહસ્થો, હું તમ્હારો સહુનો ઉપકાર માનું છું.

મુંબાઈના મેયર શેઠ બહેરામજી એન. કરંજીયાએ મહેમાનોવતી, શેઠ પ્રાણલાલનો નીચેના શબ્દોમાં આભાર માન્યો હતો:—

ગૃહસ્થો,

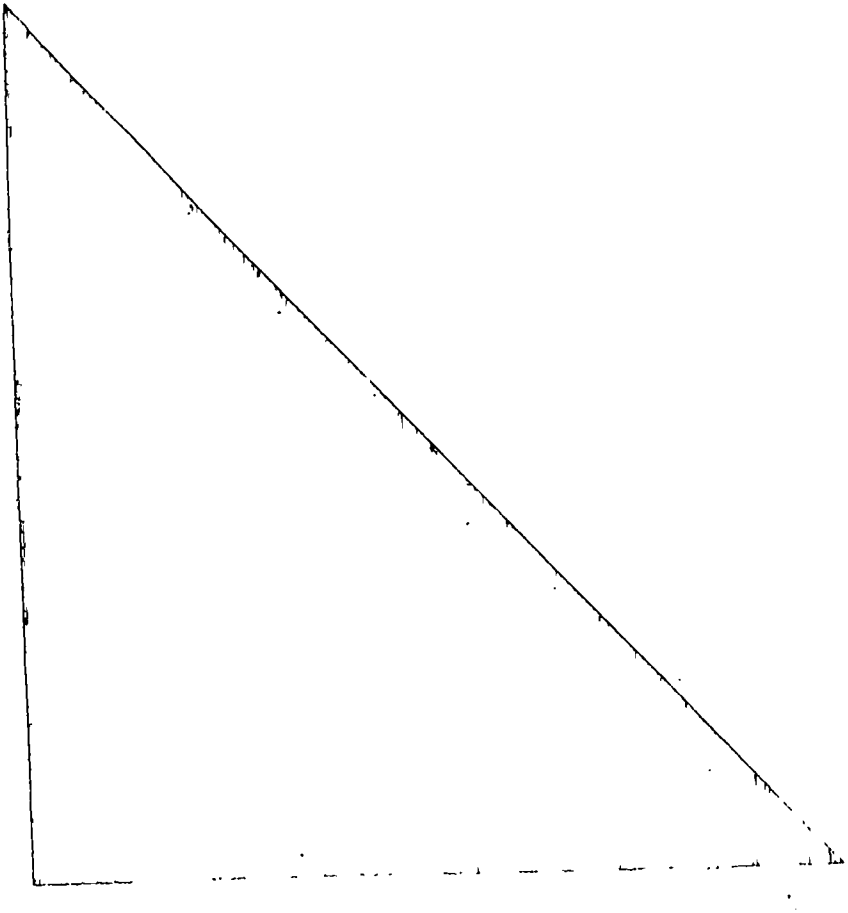
આજના માનવંતા હોસ્ટ શેઠ પ્રાણલાલભાઇનો આભાર માનવા માટે હું તમારી સમક્ષ ઉભો થયો છું. એમના વડવાઓને વહાણવટાના ઉદ્યોગ સાથે કેવી જુની નિસ્બત હતી તે આપણે હમણાંજ સાંભળ્યું છે. એમના પિતાશ્રી શેઠ દેવકરણ નાનજીએ ચાર્ટર્ડ રટીમરો દ્વારા નહાના વેપારીયોને માલ પરદેશ ચડાવવાની પહેલ કરી અને એ રીતે નહાના વેપારીયોઓનો પોતાના અસીલો સાથેનો ડાયરેકટ સંબંધ જોડી આપ્યો એ કંઈ તે વખતે, પરદેશી લાઇનરોની પેઢીઓની સ્વાધીનું નહાનું સુનું સાહસ નજ કહેવાય. તેથીજ એ સાહસને વધાવી લેવા લાયક ગણવુ જોઇયે.

મહારા પહેલાંના બોલનારાઓએ શ્રી વાલચન્દભાઇને, દેશી શિપિંગની તેમણે કરેલી મા.-ભારત સેવાઓ માટે જે મૃબારકબાદીના બોલો કહ્યા છે તે સાથે હું બોલેબોલ મળતો થઉંછું. ગૃહસ્થો, હિન્દુસ્થાનમાં શ્રી વાલચંદભાઈ જેવા બીજા એકજ સાહસિક અને હિમતવાન વેપારી નર થઈ ગયા તે શેઠ મર જમશેદજી તાતા. તાતાના ખાનદાને એકવાર વહાણવટાનો જંડા ઉડાવ્યો હતો પણ કમનશીબે તેમાં ફત્તેહ પામી ન શકયા. આજે વાલચન્દભાઈ જેજ જંડાને આગળ ધપાવી રહયા છે. તાતાનાં વહાણવટાનાં સાહસને બુરા ફેરે પહોંચાડનાર પી. એન્ડ ઓ. જેવી માતબર બ્રિટિશ કંપનીઓ હતી. આજે આપણને ખુશી થવાનું છે કે એજ બ્રિટિશ બિરાદરોને માથે વાલચંદભાઇ શેર ઉપર સવાશેર જેવા મળ્યા છે અને સિન્ધિયા કંપની જેવી માતબર કંપની ઉભી કરી છે; તેપણ, બ્રિટિશોની કાતીલ હરીફાઈ ખમીને. વળી સરકારની મદદ વિના એમણે એ કામ કરી દેખાડયું છે, બલકે સરકાર વહાણવટાં જેવા દેશના જરૂરી ઉદ્યોગ તરફ અખાડા કરે, દરકાર ન કરે છતાં એમણે આ સાહસને ફત્તેહમંદ બનાવી દેખાડયું છે.

શ્રીયુત વાલચંદભાઈ એ વહાણવટામાંજ નથી. એઓ તો શિપિંગમાં, સીમેન્ટમાં, ઇન્સ્યોરન્સમાં, બાંડમાં એમ જાતજાતના ઉદ્યોગોમાં દેખાય છે. મહેં સાંભળ્યું છે કે એઓ હવે મોટરકાર પણ હિંદુસ્થાનમાં બાંધવાનો ઉદ્યોગ બોલવાના છે. મહેં એમ પણ સાંભળ્યું છે કે અહિ આપણાજ દેશમાં એઓ વિમાનો બાંધવાનો ઇરાદો રાખે છે જેઓ દેશને ચાહે છે એવા હિન્દીવાસી તરીકે આપણે શ્રી વાલચન્દભાઈ માટે મગરૂબી લઇયે એ સ્વાભાવિકજ છે. ગૃહસ્થો, તમારા સહુની વતી હું વાલચન્દભાઇને ખાત્રી આપું છું કે

દેશી વહાણવટાંના ઉદ્યોગની ખીલવણી કરવાની એમની ખાહેશ છે તેમાંજ નહિ પરંતુ જે જે મ્હોટા ઉદ્યોગો પગભર કરવા તેઓ માંગે છે તે બધાને અમારો સાચા દિલનો સહકાર છે.

વાલચન્દભાઇને ધન્યવાદ આપવાને માટે આવો ખુશ્નુમા મેળાવડો યોજવા માટે હું શેઠ પ્રાણલાલભાઇનો આભાર માનું છું; અને દેશ જેના માટે મગરૂબ થઈ શકે એવા આપણા આ વાલચન્દભાઈ જેવા ઉદ્યોગપતિઓ તરફ આપણી માનની લાગણી દેખાડવાની તક આપવા માટે આવા બીજા ઘણાએ મેળાવડાઓ એઓ કરે એમ હું તેમને વિનન્તિ કરું છું, અને મારી ખાત્રી છે કે તમે બધાઓ પણ મારી સાથે એ વિનન્તિ કરવામાં સંમત છો.



14 AUG 2000

7 APR 2006

ETY OF BOMBAY

00095302

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 28 September, 2015